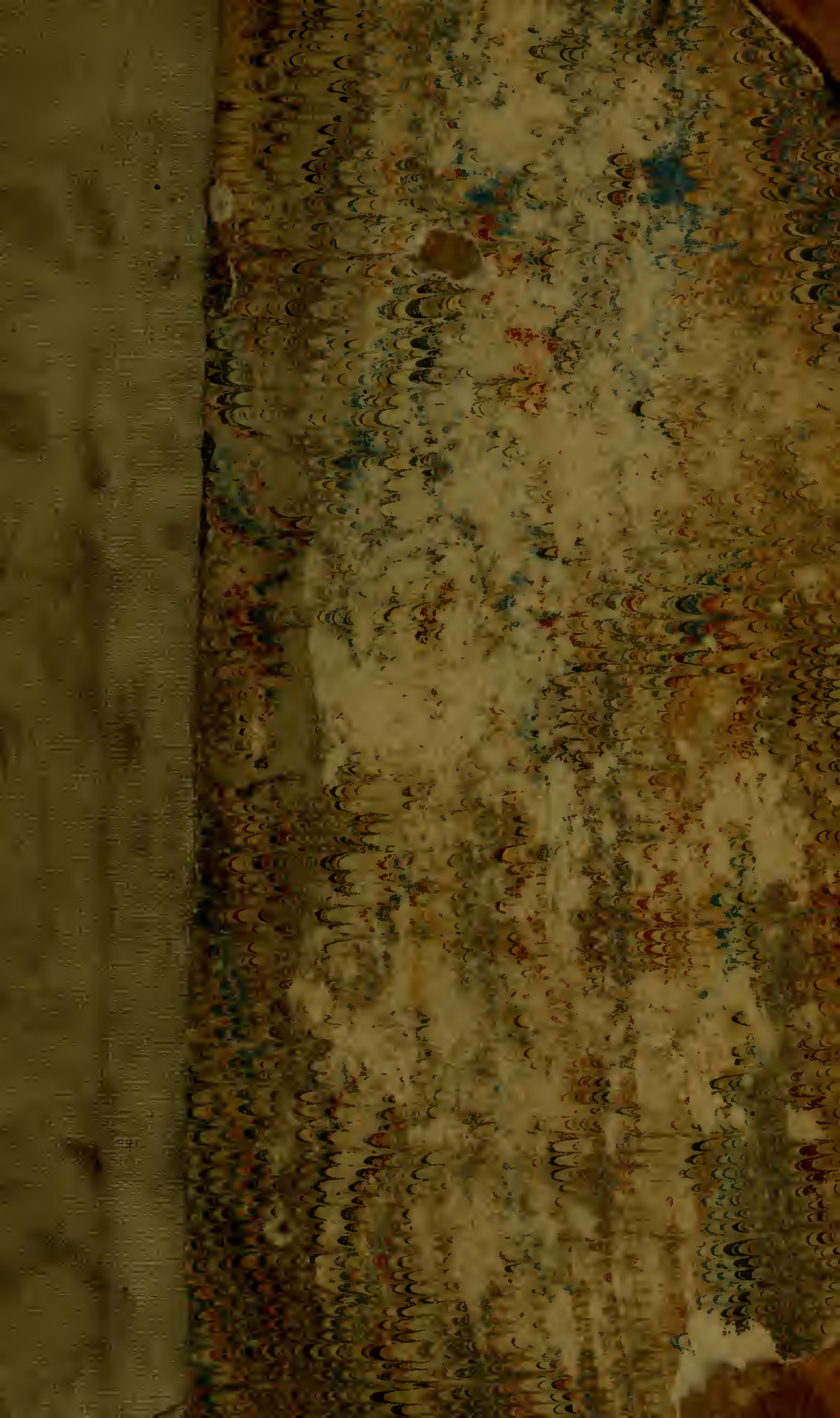




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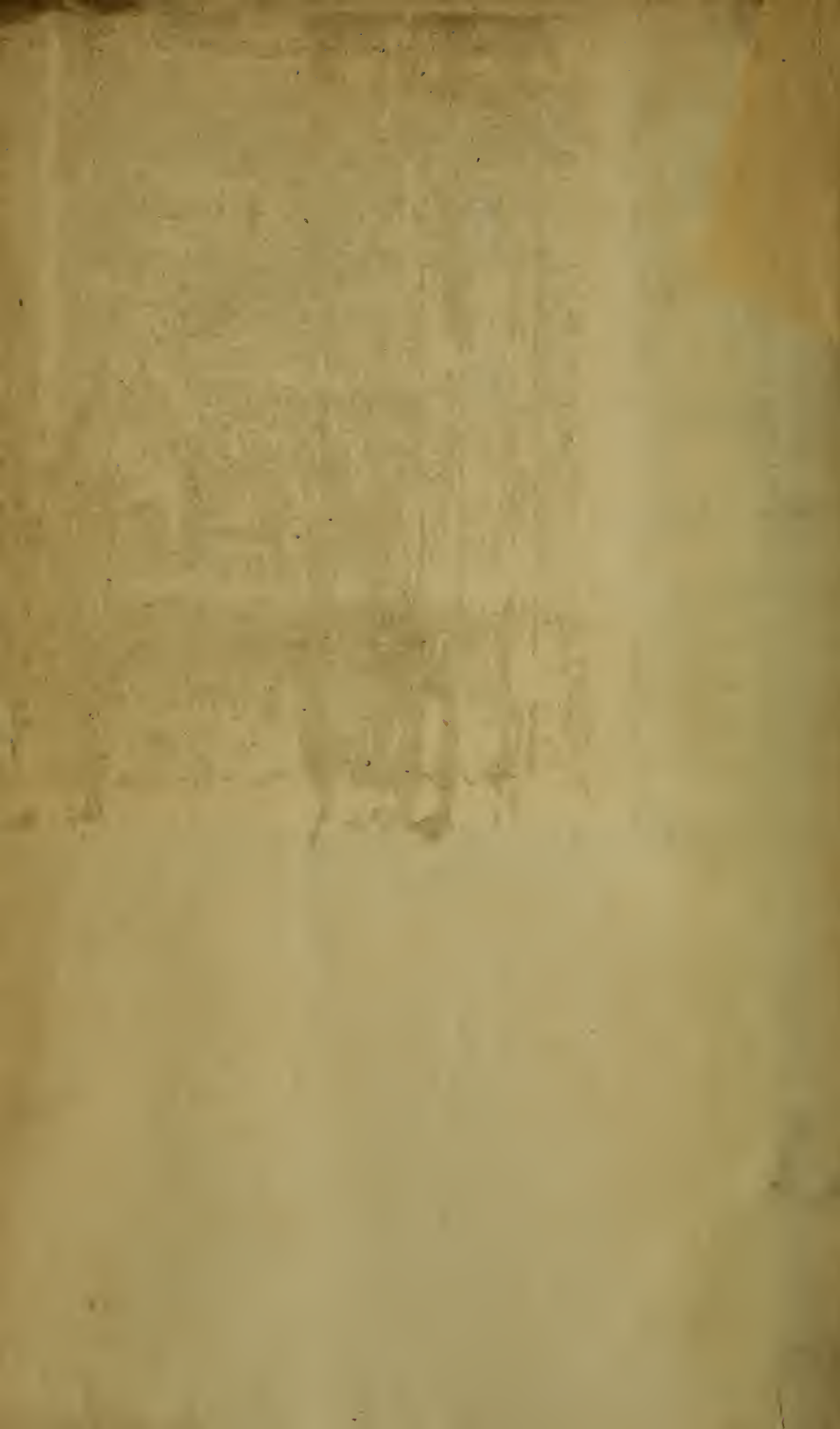
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VOLUME VIII.

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COLLECTIONS, &c.



WONDER WORKING PROVIDENCE OF SIONS SAVIOUR IN NEW-ENGLAND.

BOOK III.



Containing the passages of Gods providence towards this wandering race of Jaacobites in these latter seven years, from the year 1645, till toward the latter end of 51.

[Concluded from p. 58 of the seventh volume, second series.]



CHAP. I. Of planting the twenty sixth church of Christ at the Town of Haverhil, and of preparation for a second war with the Indians.

THIS year that antient, honored and trusty souldier of the truth, Thom. Dudly Esquire was chosen Governor, and the honored John Winthrop Esquire was chosen Deputy Governor, John Endicut Esquire to the office of Major General. You have heard in the former book of the fortifying of the Castle, and placing a Captain therein, which was not finished till this year ; the number of free-men added was 56. The Town of Haverhil was built much about this time, lying higher up than Salisbury, upon the fair and large river of Merrimeck : the people are wholly bent to improve their labour in tilling the earth, and keeping of cattel, whose yearly encrease encourages them to spend their days in those remote parts, the constant penetrating farther into this Wilderness, hath caused the wild and uncouth woods to be fil'd with frequented wayes, and the large rivers to be over-laid with Bridges passeable, both for horse and foot ; this Town is of a large extent, sup-

posed to be ten miles in length, there being an over-weaning desire in most men after Medow land, which hath caused many towns to grasp more into their hands than they could afterward possibly hold ; the people are laborious in the gaining the goods of this life, yet they are not unmindful also of the chief end of their coming hither, namely, to be made partakers of the blessed Ordinances of Christ, that their souls might be refreshed with the continual income of his rich grace, to which end they gathered into a Church-body, and called to office the reverend M. Ward, son to the former named M. Ward of Ipswich.

With mind resolv'd run out thy race at length,
 Young Ward begin whereas thy father left,
 Left hath he not, but *breaths for further strength,
 For thou, nor he, are yet of hope bereft :
 Fruit of thy labours thou shalt see so much,
 The righteous shall hear of it, and rejoyce
 When Babel falls by Christ's almighty touch,
 All's folk shall praise him with a cheerful voice.
 They prosper shall that Sions building mind,
 Then Ward cease not with toyl her stones to lay,
 For great is he thee to this work assign'd,
 Whose pleasure is, heavens Crown shall be thy pay.

This year, although divers Indian Sachems not long before had desired to subject themselves and lands unto this Government, yet the sons of old Canonicus having not inherited their fathers prudence, with his subjects and land, fell to hot contention with their own neighbours and native inhabitants, although they were forbidden by the united Colonies, and prosecuted so that they would not stick to wage war with the English also, which the Commissioners perceiving, they raised an Army of horse and foot out of the Colonies, and appointed as Commander in chief over them Major-General Edward Gibbons ; the reverend Mr. Tomson, one of the Elders of the Church at Braintree was to accompany them, and to preach the Word of God unto them, during the time of the war ; but the Indians hearing of this preparation against them, sent a certain number of their chief Nobility to treat with the Commissioners of the united Colonies about a peace, who then sitting at

Boston gave them audience, the Indians coming into their presence, could speak no more English, but peace, peace; the English were very desirous of an opportunity to shew them mercy, and yet would they should not despise them in gaining it upon such easie terms, as might cause them to move war again, and therefore allotted them to pay some part of the charge of the war intended, and therefore appointed them to give four of their sons for hostages till they had wholly paid it; the Indians gladly accepted of the terms, and accordingly brought their children. Here the Reader should be minded of the admirable acts of the Lord Christ in awing these multitudes of Heathens, for they were the most populous of any that are in these parts; but it is reserved for another place in this history, the Indians being slow in their performance, had their hostages returned home before the Wapom was paid, yet their two Princes Pesicus and *Mexanimo, did upon the sending certain armed men to demand the remainder, send the sum demanded.

CHAP. II. Of the planting of the twenty seventh Church of Christ at the Town called Springfield, and of the earnest seeking the Lord by all the Churches of N. E. for his gracious assistance in the work of Reformation.

ABOUT this time one Mr. †Pinchin, sometime a Magistrate, having out of desire to better his estate, by trading with the Indians, settled himself very remote (from all the Churches of Christ in the Mattachusetts Government) upon the river of Canectico, yet under their Government, he having some godly persons resorting unto him, they there erected a Town and Church of Christ, calling it Springfield, it lying upon this large and navigable river, hath the benefit of transporting their goods by water, and also fitly seated for a Bever trade with the Indians till the Merchants encreased so many, that it became little worth, by reason of their out-buying one another, which hath caused them to live upon husbandry; this Town is mostly built along the river side, and upon some little rivulets of the same: There hath of late been more than one or two in this Town

* Mexanimo.

† Pincheon

greatly suspected of witchcraft, yet have they used much diligence, both for the finding them out, and for the Lords assisting them against their witchery, yet have they, as is supposed, bewitched not a few persons, among whom two of the reverend Elders children : These people inhabiting this Town having gathered into a Church-body, called to the office of a Pastor the reverend M. *Moxson, who remaineth with them at this very day, of whom as followeth.

As thou with strong and able parts art made,
 Thy person stout with toyl and labour shall,
 With help of Christ through difficulties wade,
 Then spend for him, spare not thyself at all.
 When errors crowd close to thyself, and friends
 Take up truths sword, trifle not time, for why
 Christ cal'd his people hither, for these ends,
 To tell the world that Babels fall is nigh ;
 And that his Churches through the world shall spread,
 Maugre the might of wicked men and devils,
 Then Moxon thou need'st not at all to dread,
 But be aveng'd on Satan for his evils,
 Thy Lord Christ will under thy feet him tread.

This year the great troubles in our native country encreaseing, and that hearing prophane Esau had mustered up all the Bands he could make to come against his brother Jacob, these wandering race of Jacobites deemed it now high time to implore the Lord for his especial aid in this time of their deepest distress, and the rather being encouraged hereunto from former deliverances and wonderful mercies received, the which they now presented before the Lord with the several branches, and enlarged bounties thereof to refresh their frozen affections, and move a melting heart in their barren breasts, that began to dry up with a lazy lethargy, and therefore thrusting themselves on to the work by the loving invitation of that godly Government the Lord in his mercy had peaceably placed among them, each Church in their own proper place meeting together in daies of solemn seeking of the Lord's pleasing countenance in Christ (the Lord in his mercy helping them) after a serious acknowledgment of their own unworthiness, by reason of their sinful provocations of the Lord to anger

* Moxon.

against them aggravated, in that they were committed immediately upon the receipt of a multitude of marvellous mercies, they acknowledg unto the Lord in the audience of the great Congregation the manner of his wonderful providence extended towards them, that as Jacob professes, I came over this Jordan with my staff, and now have I gotten two Bands ; so they came over this boysterous billow-boyl-ing Ocean, a few poor scattered stones newly raked out of the heaps of rubbish, and thou Lord Christ hast now so far exalted them as to lay them sure in thy Sion, a building, to be the wonder of the world, orderly are they placed in five and forty several Churches, and that in a Wilderness, where civility scarce ever took place, much less any Religion, and now to the Lord earnestly they cry to be delivered from the cruel hands of those that would destroy both young and old, the bird and her young together, and as Jacobs fear was, the seed of Christs Church in the posterity of Israel should be cut off and therefore pleaded the promise of the Lord in the multiplying of his seed ; so these people at this very time pleaded not only the Lords promise to Israel, but to his only Son Christ Jesus ; Lord, hast thou not said, Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thy inheritance, and the uttermost ends of the earth for thy possession ; and now Lord, are not these the Churches of Christ which thou hast planted for his possession ; and that as Rachel and Leah built the house of Israel, so now shall these and the like Sister-churches spread the whole earth, the Lord Christ reigning as King and Lord for ever over them ; Then why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagin a vain thing, seeing the time of the Lords arising to have mercy upon Sion is come, yea his appointed time is at hand ; and he who walks in the midst of his golden Candlesticks, whose eyes are as a flaming fire, will not suffer his Churches to be trodden under feet of that Antichristian Lordly prelacy any longer, nor yet defiled with any transformed Saint-seeming Angels of light with their painted doctrines. Thus did this poor people plead with the Lord, not only for themselves, but for their dearly beloved brethren in England, *I and all that are Christs chosen people the world throughout ; and although they were

not unmindful from day to day of them, yet this year 1645, the Lord was pleased to stir up their affections in more then an ordinary manner, what success their prayers have had, let all (that love and long to behold the beauty of Christ shining on and in his beloved Bride) declare the loving kindness of the Lord towards his Churches, and let all the Churches of Christ, though never so remote the one from the other, yet joyned together in one faith and one Christ, be frequent in prayer one for another, congregate together at the Throne of the Lord, be present in spirit, though absent in body ; these New-England Churches are neer one hundred miles distant one from another, and yet communicate, counsel, care, love, joy, grieve with, and for one another, dismiss some, and commend others (as occasion serves) to the Christian care and watchfulness, from one Church to another, and why may not this be practised the world throughout, even from Jerusalem and round about to Illyricum?

CHAP. III. Of the opposition the Government of the Mattachusetts Colony met withal, by certain persons, under the name of petitioners.

In place of Governor was chosen for this year John Winthrop Esquire, and for Deputy Governor, Thomas Dudley Esquire, the number of freemen were about 72. At the Court of Election there was a Petition drawn, and presented to the Court by a Doctor of Physick, with seven hands to it, the persons were of a Linsiwolsie disposition, some for Prelacy, some for Presbytery, and some for Plebsbytery, but all joyned together in the thing they would, which was to stir up the people to a dislike of the present Government, one while envying against the constitution of the Government as not popular enough, another while against the Laws or orders of this little Commonwealth as too strict, and then to provoke, at least the penurious, they tell them of great expence of the publike Treasury, and intolerable taxations ; the matter they petitioned for, was a bottom to build their quarrel upon, under the name of a Presbyterian Government, and this they supposed would suit well with their Bill of complaint, which they

intended for England, not that they cared for a Presbyterian Church, for had they so done, they might have found out one in the country before they petitioned, but because they supposed that the Parliament in England would establish that way only, and therefore bore themselves bold upon it, that although their seditious and scandalous words and practises should incur a penalty (as none could deem any other, unless it be such as are all for liberty, and nothing for Government) yet they might bear men in hand, it was for petitioning for a Presbyterian Church Government, according to this tenor ; the Court being somewhat slow in censuring them, they prepared a plot, wrapping in some few persons more with them, laying very gross matters to the charge of this Government in their Bill of complaint, but being suspected by the honoured Magistrates of this Government, their plot was found out, and writing publicly read unto them, for all which they had a small penalty laid upon them, hardly countervail the charge they put the country unto ; but assuredly it was the Lords gracious goodness to quell their malice against his people, and indeed the proud Bishops sped no better, or not so well, especially some of them, nor have any other hitherto prospered, who have maligned these poor Churches of Christ, yea because the Gortonist painted over a far worser cause, that those honourable personages in England, who had the hearing thereof could not discern* the Government, though meet to send over this year the honoured M. Winslow to manifest and declare the naked truth of things, having full power and commission from this Government to deal for them in all matters wherein they may be concerned ; and verily the chief Gortonian might have returned from England hither, to have triumphed in his blasphemies over the Churches of Christ ; and all the united colonies, had not the divel shewed his horns in that book he printed, wherein he takes upon him a monstrous interpretation of the words of our Lord Christ in John, Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood &c. had the book been well perused before their coming over, surely they had never return'd with so large a commission as they boast of, for the Par-

* The fault of punctuation in this place is evident. There should be a period here, and no stop after Government. ED.

liament have punished divers persons for their blasphemies, and very like these should not have scaped scotfree.

CHAP. IV. Of the second Synod holden at Cambridg in N. E. and the images of the *Son that appeared.

THIS year the General Court of the Mattachusetts Government taking into consideration the many errors in point of doctrine that were daily broached by some of our English Nation, although the churches of Christ, and the people under this Government were free, at least in open profession ; yet to declare to all the world, and render an accompt of their faith and profession wherein they walk, it was thought meet, that the churches of Christ should meet together in a Synod, by their Elders and Messengers to hold forth the doctrine and discipline of Jesus Christ, according to the rule of the New Testament, with the grounds of Scripture from which they hold the same ; and further to make trial of them by the said rules and none other : accordingly at the time appointed they assembled together, their disputation was plain and easie to be understood of the meanest capacity, clearing up those points that were most dubious, they having agreed on all matters, with a full concurrence of the assembly, did appoint them to be put in print, that they might be the better scanned and tried of every particular person in the several congregations or churches, many churches approving thereof for the generality, others there be that have not yet fully viewed the same, the books are extant, and shew that the churches of Christ in N. E. are not ashamed to make confession of their faith to all the world, and are yet ready to receive any further light shall be made known unto them from the Word of God and none other, nor do they receive this because a Synod hath said it, but because the Lord hath spoken it by his Spirit, and witnessed by the same Spirit to their souls that he hath so done ; some sorts of persons have been much opposite to this Synod, first those that are so inured with the broad beaten path of liberty, that they fear to be confined in the straight and narrow path of truth ; the second are such as have their wills wedded to

some singular rare conceited opinion, for which they have been admired of many, and now they fear their gain will be gone, if this spirit be cast out : the third and last sort are more honest then the two former, and only scared with their big words, who tell them of the Popish and Prelatical Synods, what a deal of trash and cannon Laws they have brought in, and that if they will fall to receiving books once, they shall have more and more thrust upon them : As also if any shall say its only to declare the doctrine and discipline the Churches of N. E. hold, its enough, quoth they, that our faith concerning these things is contained in the Bible, and this is all the accompt we need to give to any ; but for all these scare-crows, N. E. hath through the blessing of the Lord received much peace and truth from the former Synod, we wish our countryman and our selves may receive the like, and much more from this, which ended not with this year.

This year, about the later end thereof, appeared two Parelly, or Images of the Sun, and some other strange apparitions of light about her, like a Rainbow, with the heels upward, which unwonted sights have been interpreted by the provident passages since shewed, among those who have had an outside of profession and name, to be singular for understanding the mind of God, who would overthrow all the Ordinances of Christ, under the name of New light, and that there can be no restoration of Religion, till new Apostles come : This desperate opinion doth so fitly resemble these wonderful apparitions, that seemed to be another Sun, yet indeed had no light in them, but vanished away, no man knew how ; so these opinionists would make men believe they had found out another Sea from their phantastical revelations.

CHAP. V. Of the great pains and care taken by those in Authority, for the compiling of Lawes for this little Commonwealth.

THIS year the General Court appointed a Committee of divers persons to draw up a Body of Laws for the well-ordering of this little Commonwealth ; and to the end that they might be most agreeable with the rule of Scripture, in

every County there was appointed two Magistrates, two Ministers, and two able persons from among the people, who having provided such a competent number as was meet, together with the former that were enacted newly amended, they presented them to the General Court, where they were again perused and amended ; and then another Committee chosen to bring them into form, and present them to the Court again, who the year following passed an Act of conformation upon them, and so committed them to the Press, and in the year 1648, they were printed, and now are to be seen of all men, to the end that none may plead ignorance, and that all who intend to transport themselves hither, may know this is no place of licentious liberty, nor will this people suffer any to trample down this Vineyard of the Lord, but with diligent execution will cut off from the city of the Lord the wicked doers, and if any man can shew wherein any of them derogate from the Word of God, very willingly will they accept thereof, and amend their imperfections (the Lord assisting) but let not any ill-affected persons find fault with them, because they suit not with their own humour, or because they meddle with matters of Religion, for it is no wrong to any man, that a people who have spent their estates, many of them, and ventured their lives for to keep faith and a pure conscience, to use all means that the Word of God allows for maintenance and continuance of the same, especially they having taken up a desolate Wilderness to be their habitation, and not deluded any by keeping their profession in huggermug, but print and proclaim to all the way and course they intend, God willing, to walk in, if any will yet notwithstanding seek to juggle them out of their own right, let them not wonder if they meet with all the opposition a people put to their greatest straits can make ; as in all their undertaking, their chiefest aim hath been to promote the Ordinances of Christ, so also in contriving their Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges, they have not been wanting, which hath caused many to maligne their civil Government, and more especially for punishing any by a Law, that walk contrary to the rule of the Gospel, which they profess, but to them it seems unreasona-

ble, and savours too much of hypoërisie, that any people should pray unto the Lord for the speedy accomplishment of his Word in the overthrow of Antichrist, and in the mean time become a Patron to sinful opinions and damnable errors that oppose the truths of Christ, admit it be but in the bare permission of them.

CHAP. VI. Of the Lords wonder-working Providence, in fitting this people with all kind of Manufactures, and the bringing of them into the order of a Commonwealth.

ON the day of Election for Governor and Magistrates, (which are new chosen every year) the honored John Winthrop Esquire was chosen Governor, and the like honored Thomas Dudley Esquire Deputy Governor, John Endicut Esquire was chosen Major-General, which is an Officer the Freemen make a yearly choice of, all other Military Officers stand for term of life, unless any be put out for misdemeanour; the number of freemen added this year were about 85. the Land affording very good iron, stone, divers persons of good rank and quality in England, were stirred up by the provident hand of the Lord to venture their estates upon an iron work, which they began at Braintree, and profited the owners little, but rather wasted their stock, which caused some of them to sell away the remainder, the chief reason being the high price of labour, which ordinarily was as much more as in England, and in many things treble; the way of going on with such a work here, was not suddainly to be discerned, although the Steward had a very able eye, yet experience hath out-stript learning here, and the most quick sighted in the Theory of things, have been forced to pay pretty roundly to Lady Experience for filling their heads with a little of her active after-wit; much hope there is now, that the owners may pick up their crums again, if they be but made partakers of the gain, in putting off England commodities at N. E. price, it will take off one third of the great price they gave for labour, and the price of their iron; it is supposed another third is taken of the abundance of wood had for little, will surely

take off the residue, besides land at easie rates, and common land free for their use ; it were to be desired that those Gentlemen who have undertaken the work, would consider the place where their works are, namely in N. E. where the Lord Christ hath chosen to plant his Churches in, to hide his people under the covert of his wings, till the tyranny of Antichrist be over-passed, and any that have disbursed pence for the furthering of his work, shall be repayed with thousands : Besides, the Gentlemen that govern this Colony are very desirous to be helpful in what they may, and had rather take any burthens upon themselves and the Inhabitants, that in justice they ought, then that those Gentlemen should be any wayes damnified : The Lord is pleased also to compleat this Commonwealth abundantly beyond all expectation in all sorts of needful occupations, it being for a long time the great fear of many, and those that were endued with grace from above also, that this would be no place of continued habitation, for want of a staple-commodity, but the Lord, whose promises are large to his Sion, hath blest his peoples provision, and satisfied her poor with bread, in a very little space, every thing in the country proved a staple-commodity, wheat, rye, oats, peas, barley, beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, timber, mast, tar, sope, plank-board frames of houses, clabboard, and pipestaves, iron and lead is like to be also ; and those who were formerly forced to fetch most of the bread they eat, and beer they drink a *hundred leagues by Sea, are through the blessing of the Lord so encreased, that they have not only fed their Elder Sisters, Virginia, Barbados, and many of the Summer Islands that were prefer'd before her for fruitfulness, but also the Grandmother of us all, even the fertil Isle of Great Britain, beside Portugal hath had many a mouthful of bread and fish from us, in exchange of their Madeara liquor, and also Spain ; nor could it be imagined, that this Wilderness should turn a mart for Merchants in so short a space, Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal coming hither for trade, shipping, going on gallantly, till the Seas became so troublesome, and England restrain'd our trade, forbidding it with Barbados, &c. and Portugal

* thousand ?

stopt and took our ships ; many a fair ship had her framing and finishing here, besides lesser vessels, barques, and ketches, many a Master, beside common Seamen, had their first learning in this Colony, Boston, Charles-Town, Salem, and Ipswitch ; our Maritan Towns began to encrease roundly, especially Boston, the which of a poor country village, in twice seven years is become like unto a small City, and is in election to be Mayor Town suddenly, chiefly increased by Trade by Sea, yet of late the Lord hath given a check to our traffique, but the reason may be rendered hereafter ; nor hath this Colony alone been actors in this trade of venturing by Sea, but New-haven also, who were many of them well experienced in traffique, and had good estates to manage it, Canectico did not linger behind, but put forth to Sea with the other, all other trades have here fallen into their ranks and places, to their great advantage ; especially Coopers and Shomakers, who had either of them a Corporation granted, enriching themselves by their trades very much, Coopers having their plenty of stuff at a cheap rate, and by reason of trade, with forraign parts abundance of work, as for Tanners and Shomakers, it being naturalized into these occupations, to have a higher reach in mannaging their manufactures, then other men in N. E. are, having not chang'd their nature in this, between them both they have kept men to their stander hitherto, almost doubling the price of their commodities, according to the rate they were sold for in England, and yet the plenty of Leather is beyond what they had, *their counting the number of the people, but the transportation of Boots and Shoes into forraign parts hath vented all however : as for Tailors, they have not come behind the former, their advantage being in the nurture of new-fashions, all one with England ; Carpenters, Joyners, Glaziers, Painters, follow their trades only ; Gun-smiths, Lock-smiths, Black-smiths, Naylers, Cutlers, have left the husbandmen to follow the Plow and Cart, and they their trades, Weavers, Brewers, Bakers, Costermongers, Feltmakers, Braziers, Pewterers, and Tinkers, Ropemakers, Masons, Lime, Brick, and Tilemakers, Cardmakers to work, and

* there ? and the comma should have come after, not before.

not to play, Turners, Pumpmakers, and Wheelers, Glovers, Fellmungers, and Furriers, are orderly turn'd to their trades, besides divers sorts of Shopkeepers, and some who have a mystery beyond others, as have the Vintners.

Thus hath the Lord been pleased to turn one of the most hideous, boundless, and unknown Wildernesses in the world in an instant, as 'twere (in comparison of other work) to a well ordered Commonwealth, and all to serve his Churches, of which the Author intends to speak of three more, which came to be gathered in the compass of these years.

CHAP. VII. Of the three last Churches that were gathered in the compass of these years, namely *Haverhil, Malden, and another Church gathered in the Town of Boston.

THIS year 1648. John Winthroe Esquire was chosen Governor, and Thomas Dudly Esquire Deputy Governor, and John Endicut Esquire Major General, all three as they were the former year, the number of freemen added were about 94. about this time there was a Town founded about one or two mile distant from the place where the goodly river of Merrimeck receives her branches into her own body, hard upon the river of Shawshin, which is one of her three chief heads; the honored Mr. Simon Broadstreet taking up his last settling there, hath been a great means to further the work, it being a place well fitted for the husbandmans hand, were it not that the remoteness of the place from Towns of trade, bringeth some inconveniencies upon the planters, who are inforced to carry their corn far to market; this Town is called Andover, and hath good store of land improved for the bigness of it, they soon gathered into a Church, having the reverend Mr. †Whodbridg to instruct them in the wayes of Christ, till he returned to England, and since have called to office the reverend Mr. ‡Deynes, for whose further encouragement the promises of the Lord for protecting, providing, increaseing, and continuing, even the very least of his Churches going on, according to his precepts, are abundantly manifested in his Word.

* Andover ?

† Woodbridge.

‡ Dean.

Thou Sister young, Christ is to thee a wall
Of flaming fire, to hurt thee none may come
In slipp'ry paths, and dark ways shall they fall,
His Angels might shall chase their countless sum.
Thy Shepheard with full cups and table spread,
Before thy foes in Wilderness thee feeds,
Increasing thy young lambs in bosom bred,
Of Churches by his wonder-working deeds :
To countless number must Christ's Churches reach,
The day's at hand, both Jew and Gentle shall
Come crowding in his Churches, Christ to preach,
And last for aye, none can cause them to fall.

About this time the Town of Malden had his first foundation stones laid by certain persons who issued out of Charles-Town, and indeed had her whole structure within the bounds of this more elder Town, being severed by the broad spreading river of Mistick the one from the other, whose troublesome passage caused the people on the North side of the river to plead for Town-privileges within themselves, which accordingly was granted them ; the soyl is very firtile, but they are much straitned in their bounds, yet their neerness to the chief Market Towns, makes it the more comfortable for habitation, the people gathered into a Church some distance of time before they could attain to any Church-Officer to administer the Seals unto them, yet in the mean time at their Sabbath assemblies they had a godly Christian named M. *Sarjant, who did preach the Word unto them, and afterwards they were supplied at times with some young Students from the Colledg, till the year 1650. one Mr. Marmaduke Mathews, coming out of Plimouth Patten, was for some space of time with a people at the Town of Hull, which is a small Port-town peopled by fishermen, and lies at the entrance of the Bays mouth, where this Mr. Mathews continued preaching, till he lost the approbation of some able understanding men, among both Magistrates and Ministers, by weak and unsafe expressions in his teaching, yet notwithstanding he was called to the office of a Pastor by the brethren of this Church of Christ at Malden, although some Neighbour-churches were unsatisfied therewith, for it is the manner of all the

* Sargent.

Churches of Christ here hitherto, to have the approbation of their Sister-churches, and the civil Government also in the proceedings of this nature, by the which means Communion of Churches is continued, peace preserved ; and the truths of Christ sincerely acknowledged, yet the Author will not miss to mind him in the following Meeter.

Mathews ! thou must build gold and silver on
 That precious stone, Christ cannot trash indure,
 Unstable straw and stubble must be gone,
 When Christ by fire doth purge his building pure.
 In seemly and in modest terms do thou
 Christs precious truths unto thy folk unfold,
 And mix not error with the truth, lest thou
 Soon leave out sense to make the truth to hold :
 Completing of Christs Churches is at hand,
 Mathews stand up and blow a certain sound,
 Warriours are wanting Babel to withstand,
 Christs truths maintain, 'twill bring thee honours crown'd.

The last Church that completed the number of 30. was gathered at Boston, by reason of the popularity thereof, being too many to meet in one assembly ; the North-east part of the Town being separated from the other with a narrow stream cut through a neck of land by industry, whereby that part is become an Island, it was thought meet, that the people inhabiting the same should gather into a Church-body, and build a Meeting-house for their assembly, the which they have already done, but not as yet called any one to office ; for since the people of Christ in some other places, both in England and elsewhere, have through the goodness of God obtained like liberty with ourselves, the Ministers of Christ have had their labours taken up in other places as well as here, which hath caused this Church as yet to be destitute, the beginning of this year was sad to the people of N. E. by reason of the death of their honoured Governour, John Winthrop Esquire, whose indefatigable paines in this Wilderness-work is not to be forgotton, nor indeed can it be, his Funeral was very sadly and solemnly performed ; by a very great concourse of the greater part of this Colony, whose mournful looks and watry eyes did plain-

ly demonstrate the tender affection and great esteem he was in with the people.

CHAP. VIII. Of the death of divers personages, who were in great esteem with the people of New-England, famous for their godliness, and eminent parts, both for Magistracy and Ministry, and of the correcting hand of the Lord upon his N. E. people.

* THIS year, after the death of this godly Governour, was chosen to succeed in the place, Io. Endicut Esq. and Tho. Dudley Esq. to be Deputy Governor, to the place of Major-General Edward Gibbons; and seeing that the Lord is pleased to call this people to mourning, the Author will proceed to relate what further occasion this people have had to lament their miscarriages, that have caused the rod to be stretched out toward them, for of a truth, they are no Antinomians: The next loss was the death of that famous Preacher of the Lord M. Hooker, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Hartford, and M. Philips, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Watertown, and the holy heavenly, sweet-affecting, and soul-ravishing Minister M. Tho. Shephard, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridg, whose departure was very heavily taken by all the people of Christ round about him, and now N. E. that had such heaps upon heaps of the riches of Christs tender compassionate mercies, being turn'd off from his dandling knees, began to read their approaching rod in the bend of his brows & frowns of his former favourable countenance toward them; their plenty of all things, which shold have cheared their hearts, & quickened their spirits in elevating both soul and body to a thankful frame, through the work of his blessed Spirit; on the contrary it brought a fulness on many, even to loath the very honey-comb, insomuch that good wholesome truths would not down, yet had the Lord those that were precious unto him, who were not wanting to help one another out of this distemper, and with more warmer affections exhort one another, Come let us go up unto the house of the Lord, and he will teach us his wayes; Also the Lord was pleased to awaken us with an Army of ca-

* This.

terpillers, that had he not suddainly rebuked them, they had surely destroyed the husbandmans hope, where they fell upon trees, they left them like winter-wasting cold, bare and naked; and although they fell on fields very rarely, yet in some places they made as clear a riddance, as the harvest mans hand, and uncovered the gay green Meadow ground, but indeed the Lord did by some plats shew us what he could have done with the whole, and in many places cast them into the high-ways, that the Cart-wheels in their passage were painted green with running over the great swarms of them; in some fields they devoured the leaves of their pease, and left the straw with the full crop, so tender was the Lord in his correction; this minded all these Jacobites of the end of their coming over, but chiefly the husbandman, whose over eager pursuit of the fruits of the earth, made some of them many times run out so far in this Wilderness, even out of the sweet sound of the silver Trumpets blown by the laborious Ministers of Christ, forsaking the assembly of the Lords people to celebrate their Sabbaths in the chimney corner, horse, kine, sheep, goats, and swine being their most indeared companions to travel with them to the end of their pilgrimage, or otherwise to gather together some of their neerest neighbours, and make a preaching one unto another, till they had learn'd so much, that they could away with none other teaching: As also the Lord was pleased to command the wind and Seas to give us a jog on the elbow, by sinking the very chief of our shipping in the deep, and splitting them in shivers against the shores; a very goodly Ship called the Seaforce was cast away, and many N. E. people put to hard shifts for their lives, and some drowned, as the goodly and dearly beloved servant of Christ, Mr. Tho, Coitmire, a very able Seaman, and also a good Scholar, one who had spent both his labour and estate for the helping on of this Wilderness-work: as also another ship set forth by the Merchants of New-haven, of which the godly Mr. Lamberton went Master, neither ship, persons, nor goods ever heard of; another ship also built and set forth by the inhabitants of Cambridg, split and cast away neer the same place

where the Seaforce was lost ; as also another Barque mostly set forth by Dorchester men sunk in the Sea, and never heard of the manner how, with divers others which might be here inserted ; this seemed the sorer affliction to these N. E. people, because many godly men lost their lives, and abundantly the more remarkable, because the Lord was pleased to forbid any such things to befall his people in their passage hither ; herein these people read, as in great capital letters, their suddain forgetfulness of the Lords former received mercy in his wonderful preservation, bringing over so many scores of ships, and thousands of persons, without miscarriage of any, to the wonderment of the whole world that shall hear of it, but more especially were the Merchants and traders themselves sensible of the hand of the Lord out against them, who were in some of the ships, and had their *lixes given them for a prey ; as also Vintners, and other men of trade, whose gain is increased by Merchants men, being so taken up with the income of a large profit, that they would willingly have had the Commonwealth tolerate divers kinds of sinful opinions to intice men to come and sit down with us, that their purses might be filled with coyn, the civil Government with contention, and the Churches of our Lord Christ with errors ; the Lord was pleased after all this, to let in the King of Terror among his new-planted Churches.

For this year 1650. Tho. Dudley Esquire was chosen Governor, and John Endicut Esquire Deputy Governor, Major General Edward Gibbons continued in his office still ; the number of freemen added were about 55. This year was the first noted year wherein any store of people died, the ayr and place being very healthy naturally, made this correction of the Lord seem the greater, for the most that died were children, and that of an unwonted disease here, though frequent in other places, the Lord now smiting many families with death in them, although there were not any families wherein more then one died, or very rare if it were otherwise, yet were these pilgrim people minded of the suddain forgetfulness of those worthies that

* lives.

died not long before, but more especially the little regard had to provide means to train their children up in the knowledg of learning, and improve such means as the Lord hath appointed to leave their posterity an able Minister; as also to stir them up to prepare for the great work of the Lord Jesus in the overthrow of Antichrist, and calling of the Jews, which in all likelyhood is very suddainly to be performed; as also in stirring up all the young ones that remain, to consider for what end the Lord hath spared their lives, when he cut off others by death, namely, to prosecute the work that he hath given them to do in the power of his might, with the greater zeal and courage.

THIS year the honored and much desired servant of Christ, John Endicut Esquire was chosen to be Governour of the English, inhabiting the Colony of the Mattachusetts, and the antient honored and long continued Champion for the truth, as it is in Jesus, Tho. Dudley Esquire was chosen Deputy Governour, by the major Vote of these wandering Jacobites, with heart and good will the honored Major-General Edward Gibbons continued in place this year, the Government shewed their desire to be assisting to the State of England, in making orders for establishing their Edict for these Western parts of the world among our N. E. people; the Lord in his infinite wisdom saw meet to continue his correcting hand among his N. E. Churches somewhat more then ordinary in a sore disease, of which many (in comparison of what used to do) and yet not so many as ordinarily use to do in other plantations of this Western world; and whereas the former year young children died most, this year those of grown years died also, and although so small a sickness might not be taken notice of in other places, yet the rareness of it in so healthy a country as is this, cannot but speak loud in the ears of Gods people, who desire to hear the rod, and who hath appointed it, and perceive plainly many of them, that the Lord will have us to know, that if his own people tread in the same steps of riot and

excess in the plenty he hath given them, with the men of this world, he will lay the same sicknesses and diseases upon them ; and further they perceive, according to the ordinary dispensation of his providences toward them, he hath some further great work to do with his N. E. people, that he is beginning again to awaken, rouze up, and quicken them with the rod of his power : For thus they begin to reason with themselves, when the Lord was pleased to expose them, their wives, and little ones to the troubles of a tempestuous Sea in so long a voyage, and the wants of a barren Wilderness, in great penury of food, he brought forth by his mighty power, and stretched-out arm, the glorious fabrick of his New-E. Churches ; and therefore now again they look for some farther extraordinary great work of his, if he shall once again be pleased to refine them in this furnace of his, and would the Lord Christ would confirm our brethren in England in like faith by our example, yea, and far beyond many degrees, as the Wonder-working providence of Sions Saviour toward them hath more abundantly exceeded, and that as this in three seven years is comprised, though very weakly in this little book, there's in one seven year would require volumes, and as this is wonderful, there is almost miraculous, and wonderful to the whole world, as if the Lord Christ did intend to make his power known more abundantly, then ever the sons of men saw Kings and Kingdoms strengthened, with affinity and consanguinity, the valiant of the world, men skil'd in feats of war, as Goliah from a child, fierce and pampered horses, whose necks are covered with strong neighing, and cunning Engeniers, men skilful to destroy with all the terrible engins of war, together with swarms of souldiers flocking together to swallow up the poor remnant of Gods people, all these hath the Lord caused to fall before your eyes, and our ears have heard the noyse of this great fall ; and beloved countrymen, and our dear brethren in Christ, step into the closet of your own hearts with us, and see if there will not be some things in this following verse that may suit your condition as well as ours, that having sown in tears, we may reap with joy the glorious harvest of our Lord Christ.

which is hard at hand, for assuredly the Lord is tyed neither to us, nor you, but may, if it please him, cast off both, and raise up new instruments for his following work, but if he be pleased to give us melting hearts for our former miscarriages, and renew us with a more zealous courage and earnest contending for the faith, it is very like he hath more glorious works by far for us yet to do.

CHAP. IX. Of the wonder-working providences of Christ, wrought for his people among our English Nation, both in our Native country, and also in N. E. which should stir us up to mourn for all our miscarriages much the more.

FROM silent night true Register of moans,
From saddest soul consum'd in deepest sin,
[A] From heart quite rent with sighs and heavy groans,
My wailing muse her woful work begins,
And to the world brings tunes of sad lament,
Sounding nought els but sorrows sad relent.

Sorry to see my sorrows cause augmented,
And yet less sorrowful were my sorrows more,
[A] Grief that with grief, is not with grief prevented,
Yet grief it is must ease my grieved sore ;
So grief and sorrow, care but how to grieve,
For grief and sorrow must my cares relieve.

The wound fresh bleeding must be stanch'd with tears,
Tears cannot come unless some grief proceed,
[A] Grief comes but slack, which doth increase my fears,
Fear, lest for want of help I still shall bleed ;
Do what I can to lengthen my lifes breath,
If Christ be wanting, I shall bleed to death.

Thou deepest searcher of each secret thought,
Infuse in me thy all-affecting grace,
[A] So shall my work to good effect be brought,
While I peruse my ugly sins a space,

Whose staining filth so spotted hath my soul,
That nought can wash, but tears of inward dole.

A The consideration of the wonderful providence of Christ in planting his N. E. Churches, and with the right hand of his power preserving, protecting, favouring, and feeding them upon his tender knees : Together with the ill requital of his all-infinite and undeserved mercies bestowed upon us, hath caused many a soul to lament for the dishonor done to his Name, and fear of his casting of this little handful of his, and the insulting of the enemy, whose sorrow is set forth in these four first stiffs of verses.

How soon my soul hast thou the Lord forgot,
[B] Who thee and thine through troublous Seas hath
lead

On earth thy parts should praise him, suddain rot,
Why dost neglect his glorious Kingdom spread.
Thy eyes have seen the Mountains mov'd with's hand,
And sunk in Seas to make his Sion stand.

No wonder then thy works with Eastern wind
[B] On Seas are broke, and thy best Seamen slain,
Sith, thou thy gain, and not Christs work dost mind,
Lord stay thy hand, I see my works are vain.
Our ships they shall thy Gospel forth convey,
And not bring home strange errors here to stay.

Instead of home oppression, they shall now
Thy Saints abroad relieve, by Sea them send ;
No riot shall our Merchantmen allow,
Time in exchange walks, not in Taverns spend ;
Godly grief and good purpose comes from thee,
Lord Christ command, and then to work go we.

B The Rod of God toward us in our Maratine affairs manifested, not only to our own shipping, but strangers ; as the Mary Rose blown up in Charles River, and sunk in a moment, with about thirteen men slain therein. As also one Capt. Chadwicks Pinnace, and about four men slain therein, beside what hath been formerly said touching our own shipping.

Oh thou my soul how weak's thy faith become,
With scatter'd seed of man and beast, thou hast
Seen thy great God increase thy little sum,
C Towns close compact in desert land hath plac't :
In Wilderness thy table richly spread,
Thy poor therein hath satisfi'd with bread.

While firtill lands with hunger have been pined,
C Thy harvest hath with heaps on heaps come in ;
Oh mourn, that thou no more thy God should'st mind,
His gentle rod to teach thee doth begin ;
Then wonder not that swarms of Locust fly,
And that earths fruits for want of moisture die.

A countless crew of Caterpillers craul,
To rob the earth of her green mantle quite ;
Wolves only wont on lesser beasts to fall,
C On great ones prey by day, and eke by night :
Thy houses are consum'd with much good store,
By fearful fires, which blustering winds blow o're.

Lord stay thy hand, and stop my earthly mind,
Thy Word, not world, shall be our soul delight,
C Not Meadow ground, but Christs rich pearl wee'l find,
Thy Saints imbrace, and not large lands down plight.
Murmure no more will we at yearly pay,
To help uphold our Government each way ;

Not strive who least, but who the most shall give,
Rejoyce will we, our hearts enlarged are,
C Those wait on th' Altar, shall on Altar live,
Nor shall our riches their good doctrine mar ;
Our pride of parts in thought of clear discerning,
No longer shall disgrace their godly learning.

Our meaner sort that metamorphos'd are,
With women's hair, in gold and garments gay,
C Whose wages large our Commonwealths work mar,
Their pride they shall with moderation lay :
Cast off their cloaths, that men may know their rank,
And women that with outward deckings prank.

C Of the Lords hand against our Land affairs, as is heretofore expressed ; and also in the suddain taking away many mens estates by fire, and chiefly by a most terrible fire which happened in Charles Town, in the depth of Winter, 1650 by a violent wind blown from one house to another, to the consuming of the fairest houses in the Town : Under the pretence of being unequally rated, many men murmure exceedingly, and withdraw their shoulders from the support of Government, to the great discouragement of those that govern, 1651. Pride and excess

in apparel is frequent in these daies, when the Lord calls his people to humiliation and humble acknowledgment of his great deliverance: and that which is far worse, spiritual pride, to shew our selves to be somebody often step out of our ranks, and delight in new fangled doctrines.

The worlds imbrace our longing lust for gain,

D No longer shall us into corners draw,
Nor our large herds us from Gods house detain

From fellowship of Saints, who learn thy law :
Thy righteous Judgments Lord do make me tremble,
Nor word, nor rod, but deep in this dissemble.

Two Masters, Lord, we will professed serve ;

How can we Christ united be to thee,
D When from thy Law learn'd we so greatly swerve,
With watry tears unclued we will be.

From creature-comforts, Christ thou art our stay,
Work will and deed in us we humbly pray.

D An over-eager desire after the world hath so seized on the spirits of many, that the chief end of our coming hither is forgotten ; and notwithstanding all the powerful means used, we stand at a stay, as if the Lord had no farther work for his people to do, but every bird to feather his own nest.

Oh thou, my soul, and every part in me

Lament, the Lord his worthies from the earth
Takes to himself, and makes our earth to be

E A mourning place left destitute of mirth ;
Are these the daies wherein that Beast shall fall,
Lord leave us means, though thou be all in all.

What courage was in Winthrope, it was thine ;

Shepheards sweet Sermons from thy blessing came,

[*E*] Our heavenly Hooker thy grace did refine,

And godly Burr receiv'd from thee his frame :

Philips didst thou indue with Scripture light,

And Hest had his arguings strong and right.

Grave Higginson his heavenly truths from thee,

[*E*] Maveruck was made an able help to thine ;

What Harver had thou gavest, for's people free ;

Follow Green full of grace, to work thou didst assign :

Godly Glover his rich gifts thou gavest,

Thus thou by means thy flocks from spoiling savest.

But Lord, why dost by death withdraw thy hand
 From us, these men and means are sever'd quite ;
 Stretch forth thy might, Lord Christ do thou command,
 Their double spirit on those left to light :
 Forth of their graves call ten times ten again,
 That thy dear flocks no damage may sustain.

Can I forget those means that thou hast used,
 To quicken up my drowsie drooping soul ;
 Lord I forget, and have the same abused,
 Which makes me now with grief their deaths condole,
 And kiss thy rod, laid on with bowels tender,
 By death of mine, makes me their death remember.

Lord, stay thy hand, thy Jacobs number's small,
 Powre out thy wrath on Antichrist proud Thrones ;
 Here thy poor flocks that on thee daily call,
 Bottle their tears, and pity their sad groans,
 Where shall we go Lord Christ ? we turn to thee,
 Heal our back slidings, forward press shall we.

Not we, but all thy Saints the world throughout
 Shall on thee wait, thy wonders to behold ;
 Thou King of Saints, the Lord in battel stout
 Increase thy armies many thousand fold.
 Oh Nations all, his anger seek to stay,
 That doth create him armies every day.

E The Lords taking away by death many of his most eminent servants from us, shewes, that either the Lord will raise up another people to himself to do his work, or raise us up by his Rod to a more eager pursuit of his work, even the planting of his Churches the world throughout. The Lord converts and calls forth of their graves men to fight his battels against the enemies of his truth.

CHAP. X. Of the endeavours of this people of Christ, to inlarge his Kingdom the world throughout, and first of their preaching Christ to the Indians, among whom they live.

THESE brood of Travellers having thus through the good hand of their God upon them, thus setled these Churches, according to the institution of Christ, and not

by the will of man ; they now endeavour to be assisting to others : The reverend Mr. Hugh Peters, and his fellow-helper in Christ Mr. *Wells steered their course for England, so soon as they heard of the chaining up of those bitings beasts, who went under the name of spiritual Lords ; what assistance the Gospel of Christ found there by their preaching, is since clearly manifested ; for the Lord Christ having removed that usurping power of Lordly Prelates, hath now enlarged his Kingdom there, and that not onely by the means of these men, but by divers others, both godly and eminent servants of his, who never saw New-England ; and by divers other godly Ministers of Christ, who have since gone from hence, both young Students and others, to the number of twenty, or thereabout, in the whole ; besides some who were eminent in the civil Government here, both gracious and godly servants of Christ, and some who have been Magistrates here, to the number of five or six, the Lord Christ grant they may all endeavour the advancement of his truths, both in Churches and civil Government : But before the Author cease to speak of England, he is bold to say, that the Lord Christ will overturn, overturn, overturn, till he hath caused such a Government to be set up, as shall become nursing fathers to his new-planted Churches.

The Indian people in these parts at the English first coming, were very barbarous and uncivilized, going for the most part naked, although the country be extreme cold in the winter-season : they are onely clothed with a Deers skin, and a little bit of cloth to cover their privy part. The Women for the most part are very modest, although they go as naked as the Men : they are generally very laborious at their planting time, and the Men extraordinary idle, making their squawes to carry their Children and the luggage beside : so that many times they travell eight or ten mile with a burden on their backs, more fitter for a horse to carry then a woman. The men follow no kind of labour but hunting, fishing and fowling, in all which they make use of their Bowe and Arrowes to shoot the wilde creatures of the Trees, as Squirrells, gray and black Rockoones : as for Deer, they ordinarily catch them

* Welde.

in traps, with a pole bent down, and a Cord at the end, which flies up and stayes their hasty course. Bever, Otter, and Moose they catch with Traps also : they are very good marks-men, with their Bowe and Arrows. Their Boyes will ordinarily shoot fish with their Arrowes as they swim in the shallow Rivers, they draw the Arrow halfe way, putting the point of it into the water, they let flye and strike the fish through ; the like they do to Birds lesser and great : onely the Geese and Turkies being strong of wing, somtimes flee away with their Arrowes sticking in them ; this is all the trade they use, which makes them destitute of many necessaries, both in meat, drink, appa-rel and houses.

As for any religious observation, they were the most destitute of any people yet heard of, the Divel having them in very great subjection, not using craft to delude them, as he ordinarily doth in most parts of the World : but kept them in a continuall slavish fear of him : onely the Powawes, who are more conversant with him, then any other, sometimes recover their sicke folk with charmes, which they use, by the help of the Divell ; and this makes them to adore such ; one of them was seen as is reported to cure a Squaw that was dangerously sick, by taking a snakes skin and winding it about her arm the which soon became a living snake crawling round about her armes and body ; another caused the sick patient, for healing, to pass bare footed through many burning coals ; those that cannot cure them, they call Squantams powwons : but if the patient live, he is had in great admiration, and then they cry, Much winnit Abbamocho, that is, very good Divil : for Squantam is a bad Divel, and Abbamocho is their good Divell. It hath been a thing very frequent, before the English came, for the Divell to appear unto them in a bodily shape, sometimes very ugly and terrible, and sometimes like a white boy, and chiefly in the most hideous woods and swamps : they report that sometimes he hath come into their wigwams, and carryed away divers of them alive : and since we came hither, they tell us of a very terrible beast for shape and bigness, that came into a wigwam toward the North-east parts, remote from any

English plantations, and took away six men at a time, who were never seen afterward. The English at their first coming did assay and endeavour to bring them to the knowledge of God : and in particular the reverend, grave, and godly Mr John Wilson, who visited their sick, and instructed others as they were capable to understand him. But yet very little was done that way, till in process of time they by continuall coming to the English became better able to understand them ; and now of late yeers the reverend Mr. Eliot hath been more then ordinary laborious to study their language, instructing them in their own Wigwams, and Catechising their Children. As also the reverend Mr. Mayhewe, one who was tutored up in N. Eng. and called to office by the Church of Christ, gathered at a small Island called Martins Vineyard : this man hath taken good pains with them : but the particulars of our godly Ministers labours, together with the good hand of our God upon their indeavours, being already published, no further need be spoken.

Also Mr. William * Leveriry Pastor of Sandwich Church, is very serious therein, and with good success.

CHAP. XI. Of the gracious goodness of the Lord Christ, in planting his Gospel in the purity of it, in Virginia : and of the first Church gathered there according to the rule of the Gospel. -

ABOUT the yeer the lord was pleased to put it into the heart of some godly people in Virginia, to send to N. E. for some of the Ministers of Christ, to be helpfull unto them in instructing them in the truth, as it is in Jesus. The godly Mr. Philip Bennit coming hither, made our reverend Elders acquainted with their desires, who were very studious to take all opportunities for enlarging the kingdome of Christ : and upon serious consideration, the reverend Mr. Knowls of Watertowne, and Mr. Tompson of Braintree were sent unto them, who arriving there in safety, preached openly unto the people for some good space of time, and also from house to house exhorted the people dayly, that with full purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord ; the harvest they had

was plentiful for the little space of time they were there, till being opposed by the Governour and some other malignant spirits, they were forced to returne to N. E. again. It were much to be desired, that all people would take notice of the hand of God against this people, after the rejection of these Ministers of Christ: and indeed it was none other but the thrusting Christ from them; and now attend to the following story, all you Cavaliers and malignant party the world throughout, take notice of the wonderworking providence of Christ toward his Churches, and punishing hand of his toward the contemners of his Gospel. Behold ye dispisers, and wonder. Oh poor Virginia, dost thou send away the Ministers of Christ with threatening speeches? No sooner is this done, but the barbarous, inhumane, insolent, and bloody Indians are let loose upon them, who contrive the cutting them off by whole Families, closely carrying their wicked counsellis till they had effected their desires, their bloody designe taking place for the space of 200 miles up the River: the manner of the English Plantations there being very scattering, quite contrary to N. E. people, who for the most part desire society. The manner of the Indians proceeding was thus, they divided themselves into several companies, and beset the English houses a little before break of day, waiting for the first person that should open the doore and come forth, whom they cruelly murdered, beating out their brains, and then forthwith entred the house and slew all they found within, sometimes firing the houses, and leaving the living children miserably to be consumed with their dead Parents in the fearful flames; some people fleeing from this barbarous massacre, as they passed by a fired house, heard a pitifull out-cry of a poor Child, crying, I burn, I burn: although they could willingly have made haste away, yet the miserable out-cry of this poor babe, caused them to hast to the house, and rescue it forth the flames, that was even almost ready to scorch it: this cruell and bloody work of theirs put period to the lives of five or six hundred of these people, who had not long before a plentiful proffer of the mercies of Christ in the glad tidings of peace published by the mouth of his Ministers, who came unto them

for that end: but chusing rather the fellowship of their drunken companions, and a Priest of their own profession, who could hardly continue so long sober as till he could read them the reliques of mans invention in a common prayer book; but assuredly had not the Lord pittied the little number of his people among this crooked generation, they had been consumed at once for this is further remarkable in this massacre, when it came toward the place where Christ had placed his little flock, it was discovered & prevented from further proceeding, and the Lord by this means did so allay their spirits of malignity toward his people, they gathered in a Church in presence of the very governour himself, and called to office one Mr. Harrison, who could not long continue among them, by reason of their fresh renewed malignity, who had formerly an evill eye toward them, and could no better refraine from oppressing them, then Pharoah after he had rest from the plagues under which he was. After the departure of Mr. Harrison, one Mr. Duren became an help unto them; but he and his people also were forced to remove many hundred miles up into the country, where they now remain; but assuredly the Lord hath more scourges in store, for such as force the people to such sufferings: and therefore let this Church of Christ continue in the way of his truth according to the rules of his Gospel, and without doubt the Lord will preserve and continue them, let the adversaries of his Truth be never so potent. As also about this time, the Lord was pleased to gather a people together in the Isle of Bermoodas, whose hearts being guided by the rule of the word, they gathered into a Church of Christ according to the rules of the Gospel, being provided with able persons, indued with gifts from the Lord to administer unto them the holy things of God; and after they began to be opposed, their reverend elder Mr. Goulding came into these parts, and from hence he went to England: but this little flock of Christ not long after being banished from thence, went to one of the Southern islands; where they endured much hardship; and which the Churches of Christ in these parts

Mr. Nathaniel White,
Mr. Patrick,
Copeland, Mr.
William Goulding.

understanding, about six or eight of them contributing toward their want, gathered about 800 *l.* to supply their necessity : the which they shipped in a small vessel hired for that end, and sent by the hands of two brethren both corne and other necessities ; they arriving in safety by the blessing of God upon their labours, were well welcomed by their brethren, who abundantly blessed the Lord for them, and with godly and gracious expression returned a thankful acknowledgement of the present good hand of the Lord Christ, in providing for them : so that as this book began with the wonderworking providence of Sions Saviour, in providing so wonderfull graciously for his Churches the World throughout ; so it here endeth with the same ; and it were to be desired, that the Churches of Christ in Europe would gather up the wonderful providences of the Lord toward them also, and more especially those in our native Country : for assuredly it would make much for the magnifying of his glorious works in this day of his power : and although the malignant and antichristian party may say, they can shew the like wonders (as Jannes and Jambres that withstood Moses) yet were the worke of Christ for his poor Churches, within these few years gathered together by some able instrument whom the Lord might be pleased to stir up for that end, and laid open the view of all, they would be forced to confess, this is the very finger of God, and no doubt but they would be a great strengthening to the faith of those, who are appointed of the Lord for the overthrow of Antichrist (the Lord helping) for assuredly, the time of his having mercy upon Sion is come.

CHAP. XII. Of the time of the fall of Antichrist, and the increase of the Gentile Churches, even to the provoking of the twelve Tribes to submit to the kingdom of Christ.

IT hath been the longing expectation of many, to see that notable and wonderful worke of the Lord Christ, in casting down that man of sin who hath held the whole world (of those that profess any Christ) under his Lordly power, while the true professors of Christ have hardly

had any appearance to the eye of the world ; first, take notice the Lord hath an assured set time for the accomplishment of this work, which is set down in his word, although more darkly to be understood ; where-
Rev. 17. 14.
fore the reverend Ministers of Christ, for these many yeers have studied and laboured for the finding it out, and that holy man of God Mr. John Cotton, among many other, hath diligently searched for the Lords mind herein, and hath declared some sudden blow to be given to this blood-thirsty monster : but the Lord Christ hath unseparably joyned the time, meanes, and manner of this work together, and therefore all men that expect the day, must attend the means : for such hath been and is the absurdity of many, that they make semblance of a very zealous affection to see the glorious work of our Lord Christ herein, and yet themselves uphold, or at least side with those that uphold some part of Antichrists kingdome : and therefore the Lordly Prelacy may pray for his fall till their lungs are spent, and their throats grow dry. But while they have a seeming shew (and hardly that) to oppose his doctrines, they themselves in the mean time, make use of his power to advance themselves to honour : as also in these dayes there are divers desperate, blasphemous, and erronious persons, whose consciences and their own self-will are unseparable companions : these are very hot in their own apprehensions to prosecute the work ; but in the mean time they not only batter down the truths of Christ, and his own Ordinances and Institutions, but also set up that part of Antichrists kingdom which hath formerly had a great blow already, even his deceivable and damnable doctrines : for as one badg of the beast is to be full of blasphemies, so are they, and these take unto themselves seven spirits worse than the former, making the latter end worse than the begining, as this story may testifie : and some stories in our native country much more. But to come to the time of Antichrists fall, and all that expect it may depend upon the certainty of it : yea it may be boldly said that the time is come, and all may see the dawning of the day : you that long so much for it, come forth and fight : who can expect a victory without a bat-

tel? the lordly Prelates that boasted so much of these great atchievements in this work, are fled into holes and corners: Familists, Seekers, Antinomians and Anabaptists, they are so ill armed, that they think it best sleeping in a whole skin, fearing that if the day of battell once go on, they shall fall among Antichrists Armies: and therefore cry out like cowards, If you will let me alone, and I will let you alone: but assuredly the Lord Christ hath said, He that is not with us, is against us: there is no room in his Army for toleratorists. But some will say, We will never believe the day is come, till our eyes behold Babylon begirt with Souldiers. I pray be not too hasty; hath not the Lord said, Come out of her my people? &c. surely there is a little space left for this, and now is the time, seeing the Lord hath set up his standard of resort: now Come forth of her, and be not partakers of her sins: now is the time when the Lord hath assembled his Saints together; now the Lord will come and not tarry. As it was necessary that there should be a Moses and Aaron, before the Lord would deliver his people and destroy Pharaoh, lest they should be wildred indeed in the Wilderness; so now it was needful that the Churches of Christ should first obtain their purity, and the civill government its power to defend them, before Antichrist come to his finall ruine; and because you shall be sure the day is come indeed, behold the Lord Christ marshalling of his invincible Army to the battell: some suppose this onely to be mysticall, and not literall at all: assuredly the spirituall fight is chiefly to be attended, and the other not neglected, having a neer dependancy one upon the other, especially at this time; the Ministers of Christ who have cast off all lording power one over another, are created field-Officers, whose Office * is extravagant in this Army, chiefly to encourage the fighting Souldiers, and to lead them on upon the enemy in the most advantagious places, and bring on fresh supplies in all places of danger, to put the sword of the spirit in their Souldiers hands: but Christ (who is their general) must onely enable them to use it aright: to give every Souldier in charge that they watch over one

* Yea every
Officer hath
his own prop-
er Regiment.

another, to see that none meddle with the execrable things of Antichrist, and this to be performed in every Regiment throughout the Army : and not one to exercise dominion over the other by way of superiority : for Christ hath appointed a parity in all his Regiments, &c. let them beware that none go apart with rebellious Korah. And further, behold, Kings, Rulers, or Generals of Earths Armies, doth Christ make use of in this day of battell, the which he hath brought into the field already also ; who are appointed to defend, uphold, and maintain the whole body of his Armies against the insolent, beastly, and bloody cruelty of their insatiable enemies, and to keep order that none do his fellow-Souldier any wrong, nor that any should raise a mutiny in the hosts. Notwithstanding all this, if any shall say, they will not believe the day is come till they see them ingage battell with Antichrist ; Verily, if the Lord be pleased to open your eyes you may see the beginning of the fight, and what success the Armies of our Lord Christ have hitherto had : the Forlorne hopes of Antichrists Army, were the proud Prelates of England : the Forlorne of Christs Armies, were these N. E. people, who are the subject of this History, which encountering each other for some space of time, ours being overpowered with multitude, were forced to retreat to a place of greater safety, where they waited for a fresh opportunity to ingage with the main battell of Antichrist, so soon as the Lord shall be pleased to give a word of Command. Immediately upon this success, the Lord Christ was pleased to command the right Wing of his Army, to advance against the left Wing of Antichrist : where in his former forlorn hopes of proud Prelates lay : these by our right Wing had their first pay (for that they had done to our forlorne before) being quite overthrown and cut in peices by the valiant of the Lord in our right Wing, who still remain fighting. Thus far of the battell of Antichrist, and the various success : what the issue will be, is assuredly known in the generall already. Babylon is fallen, the God of truth hath said it ; then who would not be a Souldier on Christs side, where is such a certainty of victo-

ry? nay I can tell you a farther word of encouragement, every true-hearted Souldier that falls by the sword in this fight, shall not lye dead long, but stand upon his feet again, and be made partaker of the triumph of this Victory: and none can be overcome, but by turning his back in fight. And for a word of terrour to the enemy, let them know, Christ will never give over the raising of fresh Forces, till they are overthrowen root and branch. And now you antient people of Israel look out of your Prison grates, let these Armies of the Lord Christ Jesus provoke you to acknowledge he is certainly come, I and speedily he doth come to put life into your dry bones: here is a people not onely praying but fighting for you, that the great block may be removed out of the way, (which hath hindered hitherto) that they with you may enjoy that glorious resurrection-day, the glorious nuptials of the Lamb: when not only the Bridegroom shall appear to his Churches both of Jews and Gentiles, (which are his spouse) in a more brighter aray then ever heretofore, but also his Bride shall be clothed by him in the richest garments that ever the Sons of men put on, even the glorious graces of Christ Jesus, in such a glorious splendor to the eyes of man, that they shall see and glorifie the Father of both Bridegroom and Bride.

1. Oh King of Saints, how great's thy work, say we,
 Done and to do, poor Captives to redeem!
 Mountaines of mercy makes this work to be
 Glorious, that grace by which thy works are seen.
 Oh Jesu, thou a Saviour unto thine,
 Not works but grace makes us this mercy find.
2. Of sinners cheife, no better men they be,
 Thou by thy work hast made thy work to do:
 Thy Captaines strength weak dust appears in thee,
 While thou art brought such wondrous works unto.
 Then Christ doth all, I all is done for his
 Redeemed ones, his onely work it is.
3. Doth Christ build Churches? who can them deface?
 He purchast them, none can his right deny:
 Not all the world, ten thousand worlds, his grace
 Caus'd him once them at greater price to buy.

Nor marvell then if Kings and Kingdomes he
Destroy'd, when they do cause his folke to flee.

4. Christ is come down possession for to take
Of his *deer purchase ; who can hinder him ?
Not all the Armies earthly men can make :
Millions of spirits, although Divels grim :
Can Pope or Turke with all their mortall power,
Stay Christ from his inheritance one hour ?
5. All Nations band your selves together now,
You shall fall down as dust from bellows blown :
How easie can our King your power bow ?
Though higher you in mens accompt were grown.
As drop in bucket shall those waters be,
Whereon that Whore doth sit in high degree.
6. Christ's wrath is kindled, who can stand before
His anger, that so long hath been provoked ?
In moment perish shall all him before,
Who touch'd Mount Sinai, and it soundly smoaked.
New-England Churches you are Christs you say,
So sure are all that walk in Christs way.
7. No such need fear fury of men or Divels,
Why Christ among you takes his dayly walk :
He made you gold, you keeps from rusting evils,
And hid you here from strife of tongues proud talke.
Amongst his be for their defence doth bide,
They need no more that have Christ on their side.
8. Man be not proud of this thy exaltation :
For thou wast dung and dogs filth, when Christ wrought
In thee his work, and set thee in this station
To stand, from him thy strength is dayly brought,
Yet in him thou shalt go triumphant on :
Not thou but Christ triumphs his foes upon.
9. You people whom he by the hand did lead
From Egypt land through Seas with watry wall :
Apply your selves his Scriptures for to read :
In reading do for eyes enlightned call,
And you shall see Christ once being come is now,
Again at hand your stubborn hearts to bow.
10. Though scattered you, Earths Kingdoms are throughout,
In bondage brought, chiefe by those make some shew
Of Jewish rights, they Christ with you cast out :
Christ will their Cords for you in sunder hew.

Through unbelieve you were to bondage brought :
Believe that Christ for you great work hath wrought.

11. He will your heart not member circumcise :
O search and see, this is your Jesus sure,
Refuse him not, would God you were so wise :
None but this King can ought your hope procure.
Once doting on an Earthly Kingdom you
Mist of your Christ ; be sure be wiser now.
12. The day's at hand he will you wiser make
To know Earths Kingdoms are too scant and base
For such a price, as Christ paid for your sake :
Kings you shall be, but in a higher place ;
Yet for your freedom Nations great shall fall,
That without fear of foes, him serve you shall.
13. You are the men that Christ will cause subdue
Those Turkish Troops, that joyned Jews have been :
His Gentile Churches cast down Babels crue :
Then you that brood of Mahumetts shall win,
Destroy his seed 'mongst Persians, Turkes and Moores,
And for poor Christians ope the Prison doors.
14. Your Nation prov'd too scant for his possession,
Whose pretious blood was made a price for sin :
And Nations all who were in like transgression :
Some of the whole Christ to his Crown will win,
And now makes way for this his work indeed,
That through the world his Kingdom may proceed.
15. Now Nations all I pray you look about,
Christ comes you neer, his power I pray embrace :
In's word him seek ; he's found without all doubt :
He doth beseech with teares, Oh seek his face :
Yet time there is, the Battel's but begun ;
Christ call thy folke that they to thee may run.
16. Place them in thy strong Armies newly gather'd,
Thy Churches Lord increase and fill withall :
Those blessed ones are given thee by thy Father,
The wickeds Rod off from their backs recall.
Break off their yokes, that they with freedom may
Tell of thy workes, and praise thee every day.
17. Lord Christ go on with thy great wonders working,
Down headlong cast all Antichristian power :
Unmaske those men that lye in' corners lurking,
Whose damned doctrines dayly seates advance.

For why thy Folke for this are dayly longing,
That Nations may come in thy Churches thronging.

18. What greater joy can come thy Saints among,
Then to behold their Christ exalted high?
Thy Spirits joy with ravishment stirs strong
Thy Folke, while they thy Kingdomes glory eye,
Angels rejoyce because their waiting is
In Saints assembly, where thy name they bliss.
19. Thy works are not in Israels Land confined,
From East to West thy wondrous works are known:
To Nations all thou hast thy grace assigned,
Thy spirits breathings through the World are blown.
All Languages and tongues do tell thy praise,
Dead hear thy voyce, them thou dost living raise.
20. Oh blessed dayes of Son of Man now seen,
You that have long'd so sore them to behold,
March forth in's might, and stoutly stand between
The mighties sword, and Christs dear flocke infold.
Undaunted close and clash with them; for why?
'Gainst Christ they are, and he with thee stands by.
21. No Captive thou, nor Death can on thee seize,
Fight, stand, and live in Christ thou dayly dost:
He long ago did lead as Captives these,
And ever lives to save thee where thou goest.
His Father still, and Spirits shall with thee
Abide, and crowne thy Head with lasting glee.

For thy words sake, and according to thine own heart,
hast thou done all these great things, to make thy servant
know them, 2 Sam. 7. 21.

FINIS.

ABSTRACT OF THE BILL OF MORTALITY FOR THE TOWN OF BOSTON, FROM THE 31ST OF
DECEMBER, 1816, TO THE 1ST OF JANUARY, 1818—AGREEABLY TO THE RECORD KEPT AT
THE HEALTH OFFICE.

1817.	Un. 1 y.	1 to 2	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	90 to 100	100 to 110	<i>total</i>														
	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	F.														
January	3	7	4	5	5	2	3	0	0	4	8	1	1	8	5	6	1	4	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	71	
February	10	3	6	2	4	4	2	0	2	4	4	1	3	4	2	4	4	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	67	
March	4	3	2	1	4	2	2	0	0	1	5	7	6	6	4	7	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	71	
April	5	6	2	4	3	5	1	3	0	1	1	2	5	6	7	2	2	3	2	3	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	67	
May	3	2	2	2	3	0	3	1	0	5	3	6	6	7	4	3	1	0	1	1	4	0	1	4	0	0	0	62	
June	4	4	3	3	4	2	1	0	1	2	4	2	4	4	1	7	3	0	3	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	60	
July	7	7	4	2	3	0	1	1	2	3	3	2	6	5	6	4	2	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	64	
August	13	19	17	12	3	1	3	1	4	1	3	3	3	4	16	12	13	12	3	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	151	
September	13	13	13	9	3	4	2	0	1	1	3	2	1	2	5	4	4	1	2	1	4	7	3	0	0	0	0	98	
October	8	10	10	16	4	5	3	1	1	4	1	5	2	3	4	6	1	2	3	4	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	99	
November	3	3	8	5	2	0	1	1	0	1	5	1	5	3	1	2	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	0	1	0	50	
December	3	3	1	4	1	0	1	1	1	2	4	2	4	1	3	5	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	47	
Total,	76	80	72	63	39	25	23	10	15	29	44	34	46	53	58	62	35	28	24	24	27	16	13	10	0	3	0	1	907

The deaths above were caused by diseases and casualties as follows, viz.—

Abcess	-	-	-	3	Cynanche	Trachialis	-	1	Hæmorrhage	-	-	3	Jaundice	-	-	3	Spasms	-	-	3	
Angina Pectoris	-	-	2	Cramp	-	-	-	3	Hooping Cough	-	-	19	Infantile Diseases	-	-	157	Still-Born	-	-	33	
Apoplexy	-	-	17	Croup	-	-	-	11	Fever Inflammatory	-	-	2	Mortification	-	-	9	Suddenly	-	-	13	
Cancer	-	-	11	Dropsy	-	-	-	36	"	Bilious	-	-	12	Old Age	-	-	50	Suicide	-	-	3
Casualty	-	-	7	Dyspepsy	-	-	-	12	"	Pleurisy	-	-	4	Palsy	-	-	6	Intoxication	-	-	3
Cholera Morbus	-	-	6	Drowned	-	-	-	13	"	Pulmonie	-	-	47	Quincy	-	-	6	Rickets	-	-	1
Cholera Infantum	-	-	2	Dysentery	-	-	-	23	"	Puerperal	-	-	3	Phrenitis	-	-	6	Tetanus	-	-	1
Consumption	-	-	231	Fits	-	-	-	35	"	Typhus	-	-	57	Stone or Gravel	-	-	3	Diseases unknown	-	-	32
Convulsion	-	-	1	Hanged	-	-	-	1	"	Rheumatic	-	-	7	Scalds and Burns	-	-	9				
																			Total, 907		

N. B. In the year preceding there were 904 deaths, including the deaths in the Alms-House and in the Hospital at Rainsford's Island. During the year ending the 31st December, 1817, there were 5 deaths on Rainsford's Island, and 173 deaths in the Alms-House.

Boston, February 2, 1818.

Published by order of the Board of Health.

JAMES ROBINSON, Secretary.

HON. CHRISTOPHER GORE, PRESIDENT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Heath Office, Boston, February, 1818.

I AM directed by the Board of Health for the Town of Boston, to transmit to the President of the Historical Society, the above Abstract.

With due respect,
Your humble servant,
JAMES ROBINSON.

LETTER FROM SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL TO GOVERNOUR WINTHROP.

Good Mr. Winthrop,

BEING credibly informed (as by the inclosed may appear) y^t. there hath beene some abuse & Injury done me by Mr. Ludlowe & others of Dorchester who would not suffer Francis Styles & his men to Impayle grounds wheare I appointed them at Connecticute, Although both by patent which I tooke above 4 years since & prepossession Dorchester men being then unsettled & seekeing up the river above the falls for a place to plant upon but finding none better to their likeing they speedily came back againe & discharged my workemen casting lots upon y^t. place where he was purposed to begin his worke notwithstanding he often told them what great charge I had bene at In sending him & soe many men to prepare a house against my coming & Inclose grounds for my cattle & how the damage would fall heavy upon those that thus hindered me, whom Francis Styles conceived to have best right to make choice of any place there. Notwithstanding they resisted him slieghting me with many unbeseeming words such as he was unwilling to relate to me, but Justifie upon his oath before Authority when he is called to itt. Therefore we haveing appoynted you to be our governour there, the rest of the Company being sensible of this affront to me would have signified their minds In a generall letter unto you but I told them sith itt did concerne my selfe In particular, & might perhaps breed some Jealousies In the y^e. people & soe distast them with our Government, whereupon they Advised me to write unto you to request you with all speed & diligence to examine this matter, & if (for the substance) you find it as to us it appeares by this Information herewith sent you y^t then In a faire & gentle way you give notice to Dorchester men of this great wronge they have done me. Being the first y^t. to further this designe sent my pinnace thither at my owne great charge of Almost 1000*L* which now is cast away by their detaining soe longe before she could unlaid

& for which in Justice I may require Satisfaction, as alsoe for my provisions which cost above five hundred pounds & are now (I heare) almost al spent by this means & not any payling as yet set up at that place where I appoynted them, which had I but Imagined they would have thus greedily snached up all the best grounds upon y^t. river, my pinnace should rather have sought a pylate at new Plymouth then to have staid ten dayes as she did in the Bay to have given them such warning thus to prevent me. And let them spaire as (I am told) they may very well forth of y^t. great quantity they have Ingroced to themselves soe much as my proportion comes to & if they have built any houses there upon I will pay them their reasonable charges for the same But I pray you ether goe yourself with some skilful men with you or send Sergeant Gardiner & some with him to set out my grounds where it may be most convenient betweene Plymouth Trucking house & y^e. falls according to my directions given both to the Mr. of my Pinnace & to Francis Styles, which I think they will not now deny me understanding what charge I am at (with others of the Company) to secure this River's mouth for the defence of them all wherein we hope you will neglect no meanes according to our great trust reposed in you. thus beseeching the lord to prosper the worke begun I commend you with all our affayers under your charge to the gracious direction and protexion of our good god In whom I am

Your most assured frend

RIC. SALTONSTALL

I pray you comend after yourself to your good wife & Sergieant Gardiner with his fellow souldier whom I purpose god willing to visit this summer if he will provide an house to Receive me and mine at my landinge.

For my worthyly Respected Friend

*Mr. John Winthrop Governour of the Plantations
upon Conectacut Ryver in Newe England*

(Labelled) S^r. Richard Saltonstall 1636

ORDER OF MARCH AT THE FUNERAL OF GOVERNOUR LEVERETT, WHO
DIED 16 MARCH 1678, AND WAS BURIED THE FIRST DAY OF THE
NEXT YEAR, 25 MARCH, 1679.

Mr. John Joyliffe	}	to carry each a Banner Roll at the 4 corners of the Herse.
Mr. James Whetcombe		
Mr. Wi ^m . Tailer		
Mr. Ric ^s . Middlecot		

To march next before the Herse as followeth.

{	Mr. Sam. Shrimpton, or in his absence Capt. Clap to	
{	carry the helmet	
{	Mr. John Fairweather to carry the Gorget	
{	Mr. E ^m . Hutchinson	Brest
{	Mr. Charles Lidgett	Back
{	Mr. Samp ⁿ . Sheafe	one tace
{	Mr. John Pincheon	one tace
{	Capt. Nich ^o . Paige	one Gaunlet
{	Capt. Jona. Curwin	one Gaunlet
{	Lieut. Edw. Willy's	the Target
{	Capt. Edw ^d . Tyng	the Sword
{	Mr. Hez. Usher	one Spur
{	Mr. Peter Sargeant	one Spur

Capt. W^m. Gerrish to lead the Horse per the Rain
and Return Waite (as Groom per the headstall

Mr. Lynde	}	to carry Banners mixt with the Banner Roles above.
Mr Saffin		
Mr Rock		
N Green		

AMHERST, N. H. 4 *November*, 1817.

REV. SIR,

ENCLOSED you will find a list of those who first fell
in the achievement of our independence. It is deriv-
ed from a Narrative of the Excursions and Ravages of the

King's Troops under the command of General Gage, on the nineteenth of April, 1775, published by a resolve of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. I have made a few corrections, which have been derived from other sources. This list includes all that was lost on that memorable day,

With much respect,

J. FARMER.

Rev. Dr. Holmes, Cambridge.



A LIST OF THE PROVINCIALS, WHO WERE KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING, IN THE ACTION OF THE 19TH APRIL, 1775, AND THE TOWNS TO WHICH THEY RESPECTIVELY BELONGED.

Israel Averill, w. *Dedham*.

Capt. Nathan Barrett, w. *Concord*.

Capt. Oliver Barron, w. *Chelmsford*.

Lieut. John Bacon, κ. *Needham*.

Jacob Bacon, w. *Woburn*.

Joseph Bell, κ. *Danvers*.

Josiah Breed, κ. *Lynn*.

John Brown, κ. *Lexington*.

Francis Brown, w. *do*.

Timothy Blanchard, w. *Billerica*.

Edward Barber,* κ. *Charlestown*.

Dea. Aaron Chamberlain, w. *Chelmsford*.

Nathaniel Chamberlain, κ. *Needham*.

Nathaniel Cleaves, w. *Beverly*.

Joseph Comee, w. *Lexington*.

Daniel Conant, w. *Stow*.

Samuel Cook, κ. *Danvers*.

Joseph Cooledge, κ. *Watertown*.

Capt. Isaac Davis, κ. *Acton*.

Benjamin Deland, Jr. κ. *Danvers*.

William Dodge, w. *Beverly*.

Nathaniel Fearnux, w. *Lexington*.

Joshua Felt, w. *Lynn*.

William Flynt, κ. *do*.

Samuel Frost, κ. *Cambridge*.

Isaac Gardner, Esq. κ. *Brookline*.

Ebenezer Goldthwait, κ. *Danvers*.

Dea. Josiah Haynes, κ. *Sudbury*.

Joshua Haynes, Jr. w. *do*.

James Hayward, κ. *Acton*.

Elias Haven, κ. *Dedham*.

Abner Hosmer, κ. *Acton*.

John Hicks, κ. *Cambridge*.

Daniel Hemmenway, w. *Framingham*.

Jonathan Harrington, κ. *Lexington*.

Caleb Harrington, κ. *do*.

Samuel Hadley, κ. *do*.

Thomas Hadley, κ. *Lynn*.

Henry Jacobs, κ. *Danvers*.

Capt. Eleazer Kingsbury, w. *Needham*.

————— Kinny, κ. *Beverly*.

* Et 16, son of Capt. William Barber.

Job Lane, w. <i>Bedford</i> .	Moses Richardson, κ. <i>Cambridge</i> .
Capt. Charles Miles, w. <i>Concord</i> .	Jason Russell, κ. <i>do</i> .
William Mercy, κ. <i>Cambridge</i> .	Seth Russell, κ. <i>do</i> .
James Miller, κ. <i>Charlestown</i> .	Elijah Seaver, m. <i>Roxbury</i> .
Sergeant Elisha Mills, κ. <i>Needham</i> .	George Southwick, κ. <i>Danvers</i> .
Amos Mills, κ. <i>do</i> .	John Tidd, w. <i>Lexington</i> .
Robert Munroe, κ. <i>Lexington</i> .	Daniel Townsend, κ. <i>Lynn</i> .
Jedidiah Munroe, κ. <i>do</i> .	Daniel Thompson, κ. <i>Woburn</i> .
Ebenezer Munroe, Jr. κ. <i>do</i> .	—— Tolman,* w. <i>Needham</i> .
Timothy Munroe, w. <i>Lynn</i> .	
Isaac Muzzey, κ. <i>Lexington</i> .	Capt. Jonathan Wilson, κ. <i>Bedford</i> .
John Nickles, w. <i>Billerica</i> .	Capt. Samuel Whittemore, w. <i>Cambridge</i> .
Asa Parker, κ. <i>Woburn</i> .	Jason Winship, κ. <i>do</i> .
Jonathan Parker, κ. <i>Needham</i> .	Jabez Winship, κ. <i>do</i> .
Jonas Parker, κ. <i>Lexington</i> .	Thomas Winship, w. <i>Lexington</i> .
Solomon Peirce, w. <i>do</i> .	Nathaniel Wyman, κ. <i>do</i> .
Benjamin Peirce, κ. <i>Salem</i> .	Noah Wiswall, w. <i>Newtown</i> .
Abel Prescott, Jr. w. <i>Concord</i> .	Samuel Woodbury, w. <i>Beverly</i> .
William Polly, κ. <i>Medford</i> .	Dennis Wallis, w. <i>Danvers</i> .
Henry Putnam, κ. <i>do</i> .	Jotham Webb, κ. <i>do</i> .
Perley Putnam, κ. <i>Danvers</i> .	
Nathan Putnam, w. <i>do</i> .	
Prince, a Negro, w. <i>Lexington</i> .	
Abednego Ramsdell, κ. <i>Lynn</i> .	51 killed, κ. killed.
John Raymond, κ. <i>Lexington</i> .	33 wounded, w. wounded.
John Robbins, w. <i>Lexington</i> .	4 missing, m. missing.
George Read, w. <i>Woburn</i> .	—
Asahel Reed, κ. <i>Sudbury</i> .	88 total.

DANFORTH PAPERS.

THE volume, written by Thomas Danforth, Deputy Governour of the Colony of Massachusetts, has been diligently examined. Before repositing this curious MS. in the archives of the Historical Society, it seemed proper to print all such parts as have hitherto remained unknown. The first four pages are deficient, but the letter of Charles II. dated 23 April, 1664, addressed to

* Son of Dr. Tolman.

our colony, which ends on the top of the ninth page, was probably the commencement of the volume. This royal epistle, which I call document No. I, printed in II. Hazard, Hist. Coll. 634, relates to his majesty's commission, so famous in our annals, granted to Col. Nicholls and others, bearing date two days later, and published by Hazard next following the other paper, and by Hutchinson in I. Hist. Mass. Appendix XV.

Next in order in our manuscript, beginning on page 9, is an important state paper, never yet published, which may be called

Document No. II.

Here follows a copy of the Court's answer to his majesty's letter of April 28, 1662.

Right Honourable,

THE favour you have been pleased to shew unto this poor plantation, (for which we return our humble thanks) doth further embolden to give your honor the trouble of this address, the intent whereof is truly and rightly to acquaint you with our proceedings in reference to his majesty's last gracious letter and declaration, sent by our messengers; and this we the rather do, because we have reason to doubt, that some, who are ill-willers to us, and no friends to his majesty's interest here, will not be wanting to misrepresent things to our prejudice.

His majesty's letter was read in the General Court (which is the representative of this colony) in October last, and ordered to be published, which is accordingly done. We have cause to bless God and thank his majesty, as we most humbly do, for those expressions of royal favour, therein contained, in confirming our charter and liberties, and passing by whatsoever during the late changes might have been offensive, with assurance of his protection for the future; we hope so to improve this favour, as may give his majesty no just cause to repent thereof; as touching the further purport of the letter, we have this particular account to give, viz; for the

repealing of all laws here established since the late changes, contrary and derogatory to his majesty's authority and government, we having considered thereof, are not conscious to any of that tendency ; concerning the oath of allegiance, we are readily to attend it as formerly, according to the charter.

Touching the administration of justice in his majesties name, hath been done, the practice whereof, which was discontinued in the late changes, is now reassumed ; concerning liberty to use the common Prayer Book, none as yet among us have appeared to desire it ; touching administration of the sacraments, this matter hath been under consideration of a synod, orderly called, the result whereof our last General Court commended to the several congregations, and we hope will have a tendency to general satisfaction. In reference to our elections of magistrates, we humbly answer, that it hath always been, and is, great care and endeavour, that men of wisdom, virtue and integrity be chosen to places of trust ; and to that end, that such as vote in elections should be orthodox in religion, virtuous, (and not vicious) in conversation, and all those, that according to the orders and customs of the colony, here established, agreeable to the liberties of our charter, having proved themselves to be such in their places where they live, have from time to time been admitted in our elections ; and if any thing yet remain to be acted by us respecting the premises, it is under consideration among us to that end ; we humbly desire your honor will be pleased to assure his majesty of the loyalty and good affection of his subjects here, they resting secure in their charter, and his majesty's gracious aspect towards them.

Sir,—Give us the favour to add one word more concerning the case of one Capt. Thomas Breeden, who, having, by a high contempt of his majesty's government here established, incurred the censure of the Court, is now passing for England, and possibly may complain, we thought expedient to enclose the truth of his case, from the records, that your honor may be fully informed, we assure ourselves his majesty will not countenance

a private person to violate authority upon any pretence whatsoever ; we were unwilling to be charged with such imprudence or fear, as to omit the punishing of such an offender, lest we should thereby prostrate our government derived from his majesty, and by us so long and orderly enjoyed ; we commit our concerns in the premises unto God, and his majesty's wisdom, humbly desiring your honor to present the contents hereof, (in a fitting season, to the right honourable, the lord high chancellor of England, with the acknowledgement of our humble service and thankfulness, so with our humble respects to your honor, praying the God of all grace would give a full and rich reward for all favour you have showed, or may show to our part of the Lord's heritage, we take leave, and remain, right honourable, your very humble servants,

JOHN ENDICOTT, *Gov.*

His majesty's letter of 25 February, 1664-5, being the third piece, is omitted, because it may be found in the curious Collection of Papers by Hutchinson, 390. + *Royalist of America*

A very interesting letter from that distinguished friend of our fathers, Sir Robert Boyle, may well deserve publicity, as

Document No. IV.

LONDON, *March* 17th, 1665.

Honoured Sir,

THE honour you and the General Court of your colony have been pleased to do me, in your obliging letter, bearing date, October 19th 1664, is a favour that I confess was no less surprising than great, for I did not imagine that what I occasionally writ to Mr. Winthrop, not so much as having been long governor of so large a colony, as upon the score of having been my particular acquaintance, should have been taken notice of by so considerable an assembly as yours, and much less that it should have procured me from it so public a favour, which I acknowledge to be much more proportionate to

the service I have been desirous, than to the little ones I have been able to do you ; and I am the more affected by receiving this honour at this time, because you have accompanied it with a command, wherein I doubt, I shall not successfully, and must confess, that I cannot very cheerfully obey you ; for though I dealt very sincerely with Mr. Winthrop in what I informed him, concerning the favourable inclinations I had found, both in his majesty, and in my lord chancellor toward the United Colonies of New England, and though his lordship does again repeat and confirm the assurances he authorized me to give to your friends in the city, yet I cannot but acquaint you with this, observing, that in your last addresses to his majesty, and letters to his lordship, there are some passages, that were much more unexpected than welcome ; insomuch that not only those, who are unconcerned in your affairs, but the most considerable persons that favour you in England, have expressed to me their being unsatisfied in some of the particulars I am speaking of, and it seems generally unreasonable that when the king had so graciously remitted all that was past, and upon just and important inducements, sent commissioners to promote the welfare of your colony, you should (in expressions not over warily and respectfully worded) be importunate with him to do an action so likely to blemish his wisdom or justice, or both, as immediately to recal public ministers from so remote a part of the world, before they, or any of them be so much as accused of any one crime or miscarriage. And since you are pleased I should concern myself in this business, I must deal so ingeniously with you, as to inform you, that having about your affairs waited upon my lord chancellor (and finding him, though not satisfied with your late proceedings, yet neither your enemy, nor indisposed to be made your favourer as before,) his lordship was pleased, with a condescending and unexpected freedom to read himself, not only to me, but another good friend of yours, that I brought along with me the whole instructions, and all the other papers, that were delivered to the commissioners, and by the particu-

lars of those, it appeared to us both, that there had been so solicitous a tenderness, viz. in the things that related to your charter, and especially to the liberty of your consciences, that I could not but wonder at it, and add to the number of those, that cannot think it becomes his majesty to recal commissioners, sent so far, with no other instructions than those, before they have time to do any part of the good intended you by themselves, and before they are accused of having done any one harmful thing even in your private letters, either to me, or (as far as I know) to any of your friends here, who will be much discouraged from appearing on your behalf; and much disabled to do it successfully, as long as such proceedings as these, that relate to the commissioners, supply others with objections, which those that wish you well are unable to answer. I should not have taken this liberty, which the honour of your letter ought to have filled with little else than acknowledgement, if the favourable construction you have made of my former endeavours to do you good offices, did not engage me to continue them, though in a way, which, in my poor apprehension, tends very directly to serve you, whether it do or no to please you. And as I presume you will receive, both from his majesty and my lord chancellor, express assurances that there is nothing intended of violation to your charter, so if the commissioners should break their instructions, and endeavour to frustrate his majesty's just and favourable intentions towards you, you may find, that some of your friends here were not more backward to accuse the commissioners, upon general surmises, that may injure you, than they will be ready to represent your grievances, in case they shall actually oppress you; which, that they may never do, is not more the expectation of them that recommended them to you, than it is the hearty wish of a person, who upon the account of your care and faithfulness for so good a work, as the conversion of the natives among you, is in a peculiar manner concerned to shew himself, honoured sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

RO : BOLYE.

Directed thus,

These to the Honorable Mr. John Endicott, Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts, in New England, Present.

Memo. Before these letters came to hand, the King of Heaven summoned the before named John Endicott, Esq. Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, to appear before him, he dying, March 15th, 1664-5, having served the Lord and his people faithfully in the government of this colony 36 years, and was governour during the said time 16 years, 44. 49. 51. 52. 53. 55. until 65.

The fifth paper, the king's letter of 15 March, 1664-5, is given I. Hutch. Apx. XVII. and the next is the beforementioned commission of 25 April, 1664, sufficiently known to the community. A brief memorandum follows, which is worth transcribing :

THIS paper was delivered to me, underwrit as a true copy of his majesty's original commission directed to Colonel Ri. Nicholls, &c. but not being subscribed by any, was on the 2d of May, 1665, in presence of and by direction of the said Colonel Ri. Nicholls, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, in open General Court compared by the said original commission, which was read by one of their servants, as attests

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

The seventh paper is contained in I. Hutch. Apx. XVI.; but the following article, the king's letter of 28 June, 1662, to which No. II. was an answer, having never appeared in print, is here inserted as

Document No. VIII.

CHARLES R.

JUNE 28, 1662.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well ;

WHEREAS we have lately received an humble address and petition from the General Court of the Colony of the

Massachusetts, in New England, presented unto us by Simon Bradstreet and John Norton, we have thought it agreeable to our princely grace and justice to let you know that the same hath been very acceptable to us, and that we are very well satisfied with those expressions of loyalty, duty and good affection, made to us in the said address, which, we doubt not, proceed from the hearts of our good subjects; and we are therefore willing, that all our good subjects of that plantation do know, that we do receive them into our gracious protection, and will cherish them with our best encouragement, and that we will preserve and do hereby confirm the patent and charter, heretofore granted unto them by our royal father of blessed memory, and that they shall freely enjoy all the privileges and liberties, granted unto them in and by the same, and that we will be ready to renew the same charter to them, under our great seal of England, whensoever they shall desire it. And because the licence of these late times hath likewise had an influence upon that our colony, in which they may have swerved from the rules prescribed, and even from the government, that was entitled by the charter, which we do graciously impute rather to the iniquity of the times, than to the evil intentions of the hearts of those, who exercised the government there. And we do therefore hereby publish and declare our free and gracious pardon to all our subjects of that plantation, for all crimes and offences committed against us during the late troubles, excepting only such persons who stand attainted by our parliament here of high treason, if any such persons have transplanted themselves into those parts, the apprehending of whom, and the transporting them into this kingdom, and delivering them into the hands of justice we do expect from the duty, affection and obedience of our good subjects of that our colony, if they are found within the limits and jurisdiction thereof; provided always (and it is our declared expectation) that upon a review of all such laws or ordinances as are now, or have been during those late troubles in practice there, and which are contrary and derogatory to our authority and government, the same may be annulled and repealed,

and the rules and prescriptions in said charter, for the administration and taking the oath of allegiance, be henceforth duly observed, and that the administration of justice be in our names ; and since the principal end and foundation of the charter was and is, that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed, so that such as desire to use the Book of Common Prayer, and perform their devotions in that manner, as is established here, be not denied the exercise thereof, or undergo any prejudice or disadvantage thereby, they using their liberty peaceably without disturbance to others ; and that all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said Book of Common Prayer, and their children to baptism : We cannot be understood hereby to direct, or wish, that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, by the advice of Parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well contented that you do the like there. Although we have hereby declared our expectation to be, that the charter, granted by our royal father, and now confirmed by us, shall be punctually observed, yet if the number of the assistants, enjoined thereby, be found by experience, and judged by the people, to be inexpedient, as we are informed it is, we do then dispense with the same, and declare our will and pleasure herein for the future to be, that the number of the said assistants shall not exceed eighteen, nor be less at any time than ten, we assuring ourselves, and obliging and commanding all persons concerned, that in the election of the governour, or assistants, there be only consideration had of the wisdom, virtue and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction, with reference to their opinions and outward professions ; and that all the freeholders, of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, and orthodox in religion (tho' of different persuasion in church government) may have their votes in the election of all officers, both civil and military.

Lastly, our will and pleasure is, that at the next General Court of that our colony, this our letter and declaration be communicated and published, that all our loving subjects, within that our plantation, may know our grace and favour to them, and that we do take them into our protection, as our loving and dutiful subjects, and that we will be ready, from time to time, to receive any application or address from them which may concern their interest, and the good of that our colony, and that we will advance the benefit and trade thereof by our uttermost endeavours and countenance, presuming that they will still merit the same by their duty and obedience.

Given at our Court at Hampton Court, the 28th day of June, in the fourteenth year of our reign, 1662.

By his majesty's command,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Superscribed,

To our trusty and well beloved, the Governor of the Colony of the Massachusetts, in New England, to be communicated to the General Court there.

This is a true copy of his majesty's letter, presented by the much honored Mr. Simon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, to the Governor and General Court, being read in the General Court at Boston, 8th of Oct. 1662, and left on file, as attests

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*.

Document No. IX.

Here follows a paper, delivered with the 4 papers that the commissioners delivered, May 2, '65.

Gentlemen,

To you, the General Assembly of this his majesty's colony, we have many things to communicate, by command from our gracious sovereign, all which (to prevent the inconveniences of impertinent speeches, misunderstandings and false reports) we are resolved to do in as few and as plain words as we can by writing under

our hands. Before we can say any thing to the contents of the king's commission, we are necessitated to say something to the truth of it, it being the foundation of our employment, and maliciously reported by some to have been made under an old hedge. But that it was not so made, will manifestly appear to any rational man, by these undeniable arguments; 1st. The king himself (and the lord chancellor) told Mr. Norton and Mr. Bradstreet of this colony, Mr. Winthrop of Connecticut, Mr. Clarke of Rhode Island, and several others now in these countries, that he intended shortly to send over commissioners, and to many of these, we brought letters, either from the king, or the lord chancellor.

2. By comparing the king's reasons expressed in the commission with those mentioned in his gracious letter to this colony.

3. Being brought hither by three of the king's frigates. This alone had been sufficient.

Those personal slanders, with which we are calumniated, as private men, we slight, as christians we forgive, and will not mention; but as persons employed by his sacred majesty, we must not suffer his honor to be eclipsed by a cloud of black reproaches, and some seditious speeches, without demanding justice from you against those who have raised, reported or made them.

Some of them are these. That the king hath sent us over here to raise *L*.5000 a year out of the colony for his majesty's use and 12*d*, for every acre of improved land besides, and to take from this colony many of their civil liberties and ecclesiastical privileges, of which particulars we have been asked the truth in several places, all which reports we did, and here do disclaim as false; and protest, that they are diametrically contrary to the truth, as ere long we shall make it appear more plainly.

This, gentlemen, was the cause why we desired the magistrates of this place, about Feb. 14th last, that the country might come freely in to this election. This only was the reason why we wrote some letters to our friends to invite all hither at this time, as will appear by the letter itself, a copy of which we herewith deliver. We know

it was a duty incumbent on us chiefly to wipe these soiling aspersions of his majesty's honour, and to prevent the spreading of this poisonous infection amongst his majesty's good subjects.

Gentlemen,—Though we cannot think that any here can be guilty of any such black crimes, yet this we say, that you cannot use a better argument to convince the whole world, or the king, who is most nearly concerned, that you are not so, than by severely punishing those whom you may find guilty, if you will take notice of it as you ought to do.

Now concerning the commission itself, the reasons mentioned in it are only such as must seem to concern all the colonies, and they are

1st. Several colonies having made addresses to the king, desired he would take them into his protection, which this colony, amongst others, did.

2d. The second is the complaints and disputes arisen about the bounds of several patents, which is the third in the king's letter.

3d. The third is, that all his good subjects might enjoy the privileges, both civil and ecclesiastical, granted to them, the same with the second in the king's letter.

4th. The fourth is, some native princes have complained of acts of violence and injury, which is the fourth too in the king's letter.

5th. The fifth is, that the king being informed of the condition of all his colonies, might the better know how to contribute to the improvement of their happiness.

According to these reasons of sending us, the king hath been pleased to give us power sufficient to accomplish the ends for which he sent us; of all which we shall have occasion to say something, when we let you see our several instructions.

The first reason mentioned in the king's letter to this colony, is peculiar to this colony, and is to discountenance and suppress those unreasonable jealousies, and malicious calumnies, which wicked and inquiet spirits labour to infuse, viz. as that our subjects there do not submit to government, but look upon themselves as independent

on us. A fairer opportunity you can never have to throw this calumny (if it be one) to the depth of hell, to the father of lies, from whence it came.

The king has done more than his share, as shall immediately appear ; the rest lies wholly upon yourselves.

The 2d, 3d, and 4th reasons, being in the commission, we will not repeat them again.

The fifth is about reducing of the Dutch, which the king did not communicate to any colony but this.

The 6th is, that we might confer with you about the king's letter, date June 28, 1662, with the answer to which his majesty says he is not satisfied.

All these reasons, being seriously considered, will prove all these slanders to be exceedingly false and groundless, and therefore by so much the more malicious. The grace, favour, care and condescension, which his majesty has expressed towards you, must needs prevail with you to do him justice, by whose authority you have power to make laws.

That it may appear, that these are the reasons, mentioned in his majesty's letter, here is a true copy of it, which we are also commanded to deliver to you, and in his majesty's name, we desire that it may be seriously considered of by you, and made public to others, that it may not be obstructed in those honourable ends, designed by his majesty, the conveying of his further grace and favour to you, and the acquainting of all his subjects with the true reasons why his majesty did send us.

RICHARD NICHOLLS,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
ROBERT CARR,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

Document No. X.

Here follows the Court's answer to the four first instructions, and this last paper, which were delivered into Court, May 2, 1665.

Honourable Gentlemen,

HAVING perused the papers delivered in by yourselves the day before our election, and thereby understanding you have further to impart to us his majesty's pleasure, which had it been at once communicated to us, might, in our apprehensions, have conduced much to mutual satisfaction ; but your expectation of our answer to what you have already proposed, and our desire to despatch the business of this court, hath put us upon this brief return at present, reserving liberty, if there be cause, to enlarge upon the particulars.

1. We do, with all humble thankfulness (as becomes us) acknowledge his majesty's great grace, favour and kindness, to this colony, expressed in his letter and messages at several times, which we have implored in some, acknowledged, as we had just cause, in other of our addresses to his majesty, in which also, we have professed our duty and loyalty to his majesty, and shall most readily lay hold of every opportunity to manifest the same, and to assure his majesty thereof.

2. The matter unto which your second instruction refers being now fully accomplished, there remains no further answer to be made by us thereto, only a thankful acknowledgment to yourselves wherein you have done us right in your giving his majesty a true account thereof.

3. For a map of the limits of our jurisdiction, upon the first notice of your desires, gentlemen, first made known to the governor and council by your letters from Rhode Island, dated March 13, '64, care was taken, and now such further provision is made by this court, that we doubt not but you will speedily receive satisfaction therein.

4. Gentlemen, we are not conscious of any neglect in publishing his majesty's last letter. For having called a General Court in August last, to raise men for his majesty's service, the said letter was communicated to the whole assembly, according to his majesty's command,

and copies thereof were spread abroad, that the people could not be ignorant of the contents thereof.

5. In the like manner, gentlemen, the five papers, delivered the day before the election, have been communicated to this whole General Court ; and if yourselves desire any further publication thereof, we shall endeavour your satisfaction therein, and shall be ready further to advise with yourselves of the best means of removing all jealousies, and silencing all scandalous and false rumours that have been raised, and preventing the same for the future ; acknowledging it to be our duty to exert that power his majesty hath betruſted us with, to vindicate his honour, and yourselves employed by him, being enabled thereunto by your more particular information, which, in this cause, yourselves will think necessary, it being extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace these wild and absurd rumours to their first fountain, every reporter commonly contributing some addition to the stream. If any have industriously and maliciously scandalized his majesty, or his commissioners, they deserve severe punishment ; if rashly and unadvisedly any have discovered their own weakness and folly, gentlemen, they may be the objects of your charity and candour upon the acknowledgment of their errors, or of our justice, if their own discretion and your lenity prevent not the same.

Gentlemen, Our confidence of his majesty's grace, favour and royal intentions to us, being further cherished by yourselves, will undoubtedly draw from us more ample, (we dare not say proportional expressions and demonstrations of our duty, loyalty and good affection to his majesty, according as by our patent we are bound.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

BOSTON, May 5, 1665.

Document No. XI.

The reply of his majesty's commissioners to your paper of the 5th of May, 1665.

To the preface, we have only this to say, that we desire you would improve that liberty, which you have reserved to enlarge upon, as particulars shall arise, and we shall readily attend some, and propose other expedients for the more speedy and happy despatch of the affairs depending in court.

To the first head of your answer, the opportunity you seem so willing to lay hold of, is brought to your hands, accompanied with all the circumstances of the clemency and kindness, which the rich heart of a gracious prince can bestow upon his subjects, and we doubt not, that his majesty (when you have answered his expectations) will exceed yours.

To the second, a further discourse is unnecessary, for the report is remitted to his majesty.

To the third, there are many things of great moment, which cannot be heard or issued before we have a perfect map of the limits of this jurisdiction, as they are expressed in the charter.

To the fourth, we shall not aggravate any neglect which is so solemnly disowned, but surely the publication of his majesty's last letters, ought have had a better influence, and given a new life to the contents of his majesty's letter of June 28, 1662, which hath slept so long in some hands, that we hope now this General Court will see great cause, by practical assertions of their tender duty and obedience, to give his majesty more full satisfaction therein.

To the fifth, we are fully persuaded, that the printing of the results and conclusions, which shall be made between us on his majesty's part, and yourselves, will be the best means of removing all jealousies; but for the silencing of scandalous and false reports which have been raised, we suppose, that the committee already appointed by you will not only prepare some remonstrance of detestation against such former practices, as false and malicious, but take such due examinations and depositions, as shall be tendered against any particular person, or persons, whom we shall leave to your justice, though we

have very candid intentions of a charitable construction, where either weakness or folly have been the chief ingredient of their venomous discourses; but in the mean time, we think it necessary, that it may be known what hath been said, or can be made appear before the committee, to whom we shall give the names of some witnesses to one particular, without raking into the ashes of any more.

To the conclusion, we suppose your expressions fall as short of your intentions, as they are in truth of that loyalty, which Englishmen owe to their king. We think fit therefore to remind you, that although there remains a particular obligation upon this colony to his majesty, for his grace and favour in granting such privileges and immunities as are expressed in the patent, yet the limits of that obligation are too narrow to circumscribe all that duty and allegiance, which, from natural born subjects, is due to his majesty, and yourselves have in former papers more suitably expressed.

Gentlemen, we shall, at any time or place, debate, consult and advise with any members of your court towards the despatch, and the right understanding of our public negotiations, and in all other things you will find us disposed to all those acts of cheerfulness, openness of heart, and sincerity of action, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly produce that mutual confidence, which is necessary to the welfare of this colony, and of ample satisfaction to his majesty.

RICHARD NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the
Massachusetts.

Many papers following, on the same subject, may be united together for convenience of reference as

Document No. XII.

Sent by the Court to the king's commissioners, May 9th, 1665.

Gentlemen,

UPON perusal of the papers you have delivered us, as also a copy of a warrant to John Porter, said to be signed by three of yourselves, we apprehend our patent and his majesty's authority, committed unto us, to be greatly infringed. Your answer, for help to a right understanding thereof, will be very acceptable to us, and greatly facilitate our return to what you have already presented unto us,

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

Superscribed,

To the Honourable Colonel Nicholls, and the rest of his majesty's commissioners.

Here follows the Court's answer to their 5th instruction.

Gentlemen,

It is no strange thing to us, that have been so long acquainted with the falsehoods and barbarous practices of the Indians, Narraganset and others, to hear them make complaint, when themselves have done the injury, we have been conscientiously careful, ever since our coming hither, so to demean ourselves towards them, as to prevent and cut off all just cause of complaints. We know not of any wrong done them by this government, or any particular person therein. All differences relating to the Indians for more than twenty years, have been transacted and issued by the joint consent and agreement of the United Colonies, and to be seen among the acts of the commissioners, together with the grounds and reasons of their proceedings, the perusal whereof may give the best information that we can suggest.

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

10. 3. 1665. } Here follows a paper, sent by the king's
commissioners to the Court.

Gentlemen,

IN answer to yours of the ninth, wherein his majesty's instructions, and the warrant to John Porter are misinterpreted, we desire you will appoint some persons, with whom we may have a conference, to the better information of the General Court, that your patent is not in the least infringed.

RICHARD NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

MAY 10, 1665.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the
Massachusetts.

10. 3. 1665. } Here follows a copy of a paper, delivered
by the commissioners to the Court, by
them said to be the oath of allegiance.

I, A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord, king Charles, is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church and see of Rome, or by any other means with any others, hath any power or authority to dispose the king, or to dispose any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorise any foreign prince to invade, or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance or obedience to his majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state and government, or any of his majesty's subjects within his majesty's dominions. Also, I do swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of ex-

communication or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted by the pope, or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his see, against the said king, his heirs, or successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise, and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of, to be made against him or any of them. And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes, which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, nor any other person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully administered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary; and these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true faith of a christian. So help me God.

Gentlemen,

IN answer to his majesty's instruction, No. 6, and your proposition thereupon, you may please to take notice, that there is a small college in this jurisdiction, at the town of Cambridge, called Harvard College, the first and principal benefactor and founder thereof being of that name, there hath been and is several sums disbursed by the treasurer of this jurisdiction, both for the building and maintenance thereof; some small additions have

likewise been cast in from the beneficence of some well disposed persons, we have appointed the president, fellows and treasurer of the said college to give you a particular account thereof: and through the blessing of God (we may say, and that without boasting) that at least one hundred able preachers, physicians and chirurgeons, and other useful persons that have been serviceable in his dominions, that have issued thence. Concerning the civilizing and instructing the Indians in the knowledge of God, and human learning, there is a small college or fabrick of brick erected in Cambridge, peculiarly appropriated to the Indians, which was built on the account, and by the order of the corporation, there are eight Indian youths, (one whereof is in the college and ready to commence bachellor of arts,) besides another in the like capacity, a few months since, with several English, murdered by the Indians at Nantucket, and at other schools, some ready to come into the college, all which are maintained on the stock's account and charge.

Touching other schools, there is by law enjoined a school to be kept and maintained in every town, and for such towns as are of one hundred families, they are required to have a grammar school: The country is generally well provided of schools.

There are six towns of Indians within this jurisdiction, who profess christian religion, who have lands and townships set forth and appropriated to them by this court. There are also persons appointed to govern and instruct them in civility and religion, and to decide controversies amongst them: the Sabbath is constantly kept by them, and they all attend to the publick worship of God; they have schools to teach their children to read and write in several of their towns, and many of their youth and some older persons can read and write; if you please to be eye and ear witnesses of the truth of these things, we have appointed the persons, that attend that work, to wait upon you and show you their towns and manners.

EDW: RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

MAY 11, 1665.

Gentlemen,

IN answer to your proposition upon his majesty's instructions, No. 7, 8, wherein you offer us the choice of the place for you to hear and examine complaints made to you against us ; We consider our charter under the great seal of England giveth full power unto the authority here established, according thereto, to govern all the people of this place, whether inhabitants or strangers ; and for all legal acts and administrations of government, it giveth us a sufficient royal warrant and discharge. This charter is confirmed by the king's most excellent majesty, now reigning, and appointed to be inviolably observed, as your instructions do again and again assure us. The inviolable observation hereof seems inconsistent with your hearing and determining complaints and appeals against us ; nevertheless, as we have desired to be doers of truth and righteousness, and therefore not to shun or decline the light, so if you shall please to impart the complaints that are brought in against us, we hope to give such an answer and account as shall be consonant to reason and equity, whereby you may satisfy his majesty, that our actions have not been such as evil minded men would willingly represent them.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

MAY 11, 1665.

Court's answer to No. 10.

Gentlemen,

SINCE his majesty's return into England, we are ignorant of any persons attainted of high treason to have arrived here, except Mr. Whaley and Goffe, who, coming hither in the summer, 1660, and, as we suppose, before the act of Parliament, departed this jurisdiction the February following, and soon after their departure, intelligence coming from Barbadoes of a proclamation for the apprehending the said persons, a warrant was issued out, by order of the council, to search for and apprehend

them, if found in our jurisdiction ; about two months after, a warrant from his majesty was brought to the late governour, who despatched the same by Mr. Kellond and Mr. Kirk to Connecticut and New Haven, whereabouts they were reported to be, an account whereof hath already been given to his majesty.

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

10th of May, 1665.

Here follows a copy of a petition by Gorton and his company to the king's commissioners.

To the High and Honourable Court of Commissioners, appointed by the king's majesty, as the supreme authority in these parts of America, called New England, with other places adjacent.

The humble petition of Samuel Gorton, Randall Holden, John Wickes, and John Green, in the behalf of themselves and others of the town of Warwick, humbly sheweth,

THAT whereas your humble petitioners have been evilly intreated by divers of our countrymen in these parts, more especially by them of the Massachusetts, without any fault of ours, that we know, or can be made to appear, only they took offence, that we could not close with them in their church orders, neither could we approve of their civil course, in divers respects, as to execute the laws in their own names, not expressing the name and authority of the king ; also swearing men to fidelity in like sort, not admitting of appeals to his majesty in any case, and exercising their power beyond their jurisdiction and bounds, whereunto the king had limited them, as sole lords of the whole country ; your humble petitioners, having removed themselves out of all their jurisdiction, by purchasing a tract of land, where now we live. When they had preached us in their pulpits to be gross heretics, and men not worthy to live upon the earth,

to prepare their people to judge us worthy of death, then they sent out against us one Captain George Cook, and his Lieutenant Humphrey Atherton, commissioned with a band of soldiers, that if we would not relinquish our religion, which we had learned in our constant frequenting the publick assemblies in our native country, or else to put us to the sword, whom your petitioners for a time resisted only defensively. At the last, upon honourable terms, we concluded to go with them into the Massachusetts, to see what all the country could alledge against us, at their General Court, which was then in being. But their captain, being entertained in a way of friendship, with his lieutenant and soldiers, into our hold, when they saw how few men we were, falsifying their covenant, they seized upon us as captives, and carried us all as slaves into the Massachusetts; and when we came before the governour, Mr. Winthrop, we told him how the captain had wronged us, he answered, whatever the captain said, it was his intent to have us captives, and thereupon sent us to the common jail, where we lived of our own charge, as long as what money we had lasted, and then were put to grind at the mill (prepared in the prison for that purpose) for the prison's poor allowance. And when they had tried us upon life and death, denying our appeal to the king, and could find nothing wherein we were guilty, and that in a private court, where none was permitted to hear, but magistrates and ministers, who before had resolved upon our death, in case we would not falsify our faith to God and the king. And when they had put it to the major vote, whether your petitioners should live or die, our lives escaping by two votes, then they confined us to several places in the colony, where the magistrates lived, with charge not to speak of any thing, about which we had been tried, unless to some elder, or one licensed under a magistrate's hand to discourse with us, and to keep our confinement and this charge under pain of death, the contrary proved before a magistrate, we were to die without further trial, putting bolts and chains upon us, and to work for our living, and so we continued a whole winter season. Afterwards they released us by banishment out of all their jurisdiction, and from

our own lands lawfully purchased, where now we live, and that upon pain of death. The number of great cattle, which they took from us, was about four score head, which, upon rational account, according to ordinary increase since that time, will amount to divers thousands of pounds, as hath been tried in a small parcel, privately taken at that time, by some of their subjects in this colony, without any commission from them, and were accordingly cast at law, upon the ground of common increase. The rest of our cattle they lived upon in the time of their besieging of us, having many of their Indians joined with them against us, leaving our houses and necessaries in them, as pillage for their subjects, both Indians and English, in this colony, whom they had drawn away from their Narraganset sachems, and this government, to become their subjects, and instruments to work their wills upon us, and under the fallacy and irregularity of the subjection of these revolting people, they have maintained the Indians upon our lands to this day, planting our best ground, burning up our wood, killing our cattle, pilfering and purloining our goods, breaking open our houses, offering violence to the inhabitants, resisting the king's officers, violently and riotously, and we can have no redress, although it be contrary to order given concerning us by the lords and commons, in the High Court of Parliament, to all the colonies and governments about us, which orders your petitioners have to show. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that you will please to take our distresses into your honors breasts, so as some speedy course may be taken for redress, and that some responsible and correspondent satisfaction may be made, as your honors shall think meet and convenient, according to the rules of justice and equity; and your petitioners shall become most humble and earnest suitors and petitioners to Almighty God, on your behalf, as long as we are,

SAMUEL GORTON,
JOHN WICKES,
RANDALL HOLDEN,
JOHN GREENE.

MARCH 4th, 1664—65.

Gentlemen,

IN answer to your paper, No. 11, about the act of navigation, &c., The act for trade hath for some years been observed here, as our orders will declare, but conceive we have been misrepresented to his majesty, being not conscious to ourselves, that we have greatly violated the same, neither know we any law of ours against it; such as appeared so to be we repealed, as you may find in our law book sent unto you. For that instance given, wherein we are charged with injustice towards Mr. Thomas Deane and others, when the ship Charles, of Oleron, came (as is said) into the port of Boston, we cannot but believe, but that you will find it otherwise, when you have an account of our proceedings in that case, which we have ordered the secretary to present unto you; neither do we know that justice (according to a due form of law,) was denied him, or any other, or that any in authority here discountenanced or reproached him, or any of his partakers, for their proceedings in that cause.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

A copy of the Court's answer to the 12th instruction.

Gentlemen,

THE frame of our constitution is contained in our patent, whereunto we have endeavoured to conform ourselves, consisting of governour, deputy governour, assistants and freemen, by whom all our civil polity is administered, the freemen, upon the day of election appointed by patent, constantly choosing the governour, deputy governour, assistants and general officers, and by their deputies (themselves being too numerous) agreeing to all orders and constitutions for the well ordering of our affairs here, as may appear by our printed orders. For the carrying on of the said government, and other accidental charges, together with the maintenance of a garri-son in the castle, and an annuity of one hundred pounds per annum to the president of the college, some charge for the

encouragement of military exercises, and the destruction of wolves, there is levied by way of tax upon the inhabitants, and by other impositions vii. s. ex modis about twelve hundred pounds yearly. For our ecclesiastical constitutions we have never imposed by civil authority, but attendance upon publick worship upon the Lord's day, or days occasionally appointed. The people here (from whom the maintenance of the ministers, and the charge of erecting the places of publick worship, must and doth arise,) have the liberty of calling and choosing their own ministers, whose administrations are publickly known, and we hope generally consonant to the word of God, and primitive practice, and if any deviate from the same, we acknowledge, and have made use of the help of a synod, and the civil authority to regulate in such cases.

Our militia is ordered into three regiments of foot, (besides some supernumerary companies) under three majors, and one major general, together with our troops, consisting of about 4000 foot and 400 horse, though possibly more may be in the lists (our orders requiring all men to be armed and listed) yet allowance must be made for aged and infirm persons.

We have upon the channel, entering the harbour at Boston, a fort or keep, with a battery of 5 or 6 guns, and in the said harbour, two batteries at Boston, for the defence of the harbour, and one at Charlestown, commanding the minor part of the road. The number of our ships and vessels, according to our best information may be about 80, from 20 tons to 40; and from 40 tons to 100, about 40 sail, and of ships about 100 tons, about a dozen.

By the Court,

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

BOSTON, MAY 12, 1665.

Gentlemen,

IN answer to your paper, No. 9, touching his majesty's letter, dated 28th June, 1662: this court hath endeavoured formerly to satisfy his majesty's expecta-

tions therein, as may appear by our applications to him, and the making and executing some laws and orders, referring thereto, but yet, that our readiness may further be manifested to satisfy his majesty, whose grace and favour we highly prize, and whom to offend we hope shall never justly be imputed to us, we shall further say to the particulars of that letter, as followeth.

Touching the oath of allegiance, the declaration of this Court, published in August last, in these words, to wit ; This Court doth express and declare, that it is their resolution, God assisting, to bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to their patent, the duties and privileges thereof, &c. will be a witness against us, should we be found to act contrary thereunto ; and as for many of those persons, now in publick trust, as also a great part of the people here, they took the same at their coming from our dear native country, and as at the first constitution of this government, according to his majesty's charter, it was then observed and administered by one of the then masters of the chancery to Mr. Matthew Craddocke, the first governour of this plantation ; so we have ordered, that for the future, the same practice be observed in the administration of oaths to such as are admitted to the freedom of this country, or employed in publick trust, and to all other householders, who have not taken it already.

Concerning the use of the common prayer book, and ecclesiastical privileges ; our humble addresses to his majesty have fully declared our main ends, in our being voluntary exiles from our dear native country, which we had not chosen at so dear a rate, could we have seen the word of God warranting us to perform our devotions in that way ; and to have the same set up here, we conceive it is apparent, that it will disturb our peace in our present enjoyments ; and we have commended to the ministry and people here the word of the Lord for their rule therein, as you may find by your perusal of our law book—title ecclesiastical, page 25.

For administration of justice in the king's name, it is, and hath been, for some time past, constantly practised.

By the Court, EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry*.
BOSTON, 16th of MAY, 1665.

Here follows a copy of the oath of allegiance.

It is ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that the following oath be annexed unto the oaths of every freeman, and oath of fidelity, and to the governour, deputy governour, and assistants, and to all other publick officers, as followeth ; The oath of freemen and fidelity to run thus ; Whereas I, A. B. am an inhabitant within this jurisdiction, considering how I stand obliged to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors by our charter, and the government established thereby, do swear accordingly, by the great and dreadful name of the ever living God, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, and so proceed, as in the printed oaths of freemen and fidelity.

The oath of the governour, deputy governour, assistants and other publick officers, to run thus ; Whereas I, A. B. am chosen governour, &c. considering how I stand obliged to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, by our charter, and the government here established thereby, do swear, &c. as above.

By the Court, EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry*.
MAY 16th, 1665.

Given in by his majesty's commissioners to the Court,
18. 3. 1665.

Gentlemen,

IN reply to your answer to his majesty's instructions, No. 7, 8,

We are heartily sorry to find, that, by some evil persuasions, you have put a greater value upon your own conceptions than upon the wisdom of his majesty and council, which argues either an unreasonable jealousy

and distrust of his majesty's so often repeated graces and favours, intended towards his subjects here, or that his majesty is not a competent interpreter of your charter.

His majesty sent us with commission to sit as a court of appeals, in these his majesty's dominions; but we are told, that the inviolable observation of your charter seems inconsistent with our hearing and determining complaints and appeals. Whereupon we have thought it necessary to reduce all the discourse hereof into one question, whereunto we expect your positive answer, which we shall faithfully report to his majesty, whether you do acknowledge his majesty's commission, wherein we are nominated commissioners, to be of full force to all the intents and purposes therein contained.

RI: NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

MAY 18, 1665.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the
Massachusetts.

Gentlemen,

WE wonder this Court should allege their applications to the king, to prove their endeavours to satisfy his majesty's most just expectations, since his majesty, in his letter, dated April 23, 1664, speaking of one of your own applications in answer to his letter of June 28, 1662, hath these words, "of which we shall only say, that the same did not answer our expectations, nor the professions made by your messengers; but we make no doubt but that when our commissioners shall confer at large with you upon those particulars, you will give us satisfaction in all we look for at your hands, which is nothing but what your charter obligeth you to, and which is most necessary for the support of government there;" and in another of your applications, you were so far from endeavouring to give his majesty satisfaction in observing those things he enjoins, and which, by your charter, you ought to observe, (if you will allow him to be judge) that you complain of his majesty for

enjoining them, and for the commission by which he hath sent us to you, as appears by Mr. Secretary Morrice his letter, dated Feb. 25, 1664, and by a letter from the lord chancellor to us, dated March 15, 1664, which says thus.

“I find by an address we have lately received from Boston, that the governour and council there, are not at all pleased with your commission, and that they will needs believe all their privileges are to be destroyed; but I suppose they are better informed since, and that the answer they have received from the king to their address will dispose them to a better temper.”

You profess you highly prize the king's favour, and the offending him shall never be imputed to you; and yet in the same paper, you refuse to do what the king requires should be done: That all, that come into this colony to dwell, should take the oath of allegiance here, your charter commands it; yet you make provisos, not therein expressed; and, in short, would curtail the oath, as you do allegiance, refusing to obey the king. It is your duty to administer justice in the king's name, and the king acknowledgeth, in his letter of April 23, that it is his duty to see that justice be administered by you to his subjects here, and yet you will not give him leave to examine it by us.

The end of the first planters coming hither was (as was expressed in your address, 1660,) the enjoyment of the liberty of your own consciences, which the king is so far from taking away from you, that by every occasion he hath promised and assured the full enjoyment of it to you; we therefore admire, that you should deny the liberty of conscience to any, especially where the king requires it; and that upon a vain conceit of your own, that it will disturb your enjoyments, which the king often hath said it shall not.

You have so tendered the king's qualifications (as in making him only, who pays ten shillings to a single rate, to be of competent estate) that when the king shall be informed, as the truth is, that not one English member in a hundred pays so much, and that, in a town of a hundred

inhabitants, scarce three such men are to be found, we fear the king will rather find himself deluded, than satisfied by your late act.

Though you commend to the ministers and people the word of the Lord for their rule, yet you did it with a proviso, that they have the approbation of the Court, as appears in the same page; and we have great reason both to think and say, that the king and his council and the church of England understands and follows the rules in God's word as much as this corporation. These answers are so far from being probable to satisfy the king's expectation, that we fear they will highly offend him. Abuse not the king's clemency too much. Remember that when the king had well weighed all the expressions in your last petition, and the temper and frame of those that framed it, though he would not impute it to the colony, yet he was not pleased with it, it will be well worth your pains to prevent the king from judging these answers to be made by the contrivers of that, which will best be done by an ingenious and free consent unto what the king desires.

RI : NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

MAY 18, 1665.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the
Massachusetts.

18th of MAY, 1665. Col. Ri : Nicholls, Sir Robert Carr and Mr. Samuel Maverick came into the Court, and gave in their sense of the Court's answer to the king's instructions, and their proposals made thereupon.

Col. Nicholls began in this manner.

Gentlemen,

WE have received from the Court several papers, in answer to what you received from us, two whereof we shall now discourse a little upon.

1. That of his majesty's letter, June 28, 1662, in which are contained five points, and do find but one an-

swered, so as will give his majesty any manner of satisfaction.

1. Touching the oath of allegiance, which is exactly prescribed in your charter, and no faithful subject will make it less than according to the law of England. The oath, mentioned by you, was taken by Mr. Matthew Craddocke, as governour, which hath a part of the oath of allegiance put into it, and ought to be taken in that name by all in publick office; also, in another part of the charter, it is expressly spoken of the oath of allegiance; and how any man can make that in fewer words than the law of England enjoins, I know not how it can be acceptable to his majesty. I hope the governour will show that fair example to begin it first. I am sure his majesty expects it from him, and from all that bear office.

2. For the use of the common prayer book; his majesty doth not impose the use of the common prayer book on any, but he understands that liberty of conscience comprehends every man's conscience, as well as any particular, and thinks that all his subjects should have equal right; and in his letter of June 28, he requires and charges all his subjects should have equally an allowance thereof; he puts no man upon it; but why you should put that restraint on his majesty's subjects, that live under his obedience, his majesty doth not understand that you have any such privileges. I ought to take a little notice, before I go further, that all the first part of his majesty's letter, June 28, are expressions of love to this colony; and he puts in this as a proviso, that you render yourselves, as loyal subjects, which is not disputing an inch, as if you were gaining ground on his majesty; and he will not suffer himself to be abused in his wisdom or power.

And here he read the words of the letter, concerning that matter, so that you cannot expect, that his majesty did make all these fair proffers of future emendation, but he expects, that in return of that, that you should not only give him obedience, but that it should be done cheerfully. And as his majesty doth begin with a great deal of assurance and confidence, that you will be loyal

subjects, so he doth conclude with the same, that you will merit his love and favour by your duty and obedience. In the sixth clause of his majesty's letter of the 23d of April, he requires, that where any thing of his letter, June 28th, hath not been practised, that we see the same be effected ; and accordingly we have propounded it to you, but have not received any satisfaction, after that his majesty's letters have been with you two years.

3. Touching civil liberties to elect, or be elected to civil offices, I would understand what is meant by this word being orderly evidenced to us. I may misinterpret the word, and therefore I desire, that any penman of it would interpret it. I conceive his majesty's intentions are manifest. Plainly we shall give in our opinions of it ; and if we have not further satisfaction, we shall make report to his majesty ; viz. that that which you have acted, is but an evasion and frustrating of his majesty's intents.

4. Concerning ecclesiastical privileges ; I suppose you mean the sacraments, baptisms, &c. You say, we have commended the word of the Lord for our rule therein, referring us to the perusal of the printed laws, page 25, we have perused that law, and find, that that law do cut off those privileges, which his majesty will have, and see that the rest of his subjects have.

And having thus far expressed himself, he delivered in that writing to be read and considered of by the Court, as is entered, page 107.* After that writing was read, Col. Nicholls again stood up, and proceeded to express himself as followeth.

We have also brought a reply to your answer to the 7. 8. instructions, wherein we see you insist still on that observation of your own, which his majesty gives a check to you for, in Mr. Secretary Morrice's letter, which ought to be read over more than once, wherein you see his majesty is highly displeased, that any such persons should bear authority here, that do preserve a jealousy between him and his people, and a misinterpretation of that grace and favour of his majesty toward you. I desire, that you will take Secretary Morrice's letter into

* Page 75 of this volume.—Ed.

your more serious consideration, that we may have a better answer to that, than hitherto we have received.

And then he delivered a writing to the secretary to be read in court. You may see a copy of it, page 105.* The which writing being read, he proceeded in his speech, as followeth; viz.

The king will not suffer himself to be deluded, nor his counsels to be frustrated; and I hope you will find better counsels about you, and tell us plainly and truly whether you will submit to that commission, without any shuffling. Otherwise, I must say openly and freely to you, when his majesty's [commissioners] have not that power, that his commission may not bear authority here, it is time for us to be gone out of the country; and for that clause of imparting, we like not. We are a court by his majesty's authority, or else we have nothing to do in the country. We shall leave his majesty to speak in his own language to you afterwards.

Here follows the Court's answer to the two replies, made by the commissioners, delivered to them May 20th, 1665.

Gentlemen,

WE have perused your reply to our answer of yours, No. 7, 8, and why you should put us on the resolve of such a question, we see not the grounds thereof. We have only pleaded his majesty's royal charter granted to us, which we have reason to hope will be acceptable to his majesty, it being his special charge to yourselves not to disturb us therein. Your proposal to that instruction for us to answer to complaints, whereof you say you have had many against us, was the occasion of our reply to yourselves, signifying that we apprehended our charter to be infringed by your proceedings. But we again do tender you, that if you see meet to inform us of any particular one, or more, that you are unsatisfied in, we are ready to give you an account of our proceedings

* Page 74 of this volume.—ED.

therein, whereby you may be enabled truly to represent both our persons and actions to his majesty.

Gentlemen, To make it appear, that we do not only profess, but are ready to make good our profession by our practice, not shortening that allegiance we owe unto his majesty, for the deciding of which controversy we shall forthwith order the taking the oath of allegiance, according as the charter commands.

By the Court, EDWARD RAWSON, *Sec'ry*.
BOSTON, MAY 19th, 1665.

To the Honourable Colonel Richard Nicholls, and the rest of his majesty's commissioners.

Gentlemen,

HIS majesty's most gracious letters, especially the last, by Mr. Secretary Morrice, have so abundantly answered all, that you have pleaded, or can plead for your charter, or against our commission, that we have most just grounds to insist upon the former question, and therefore we are necessitated to declare once more to you, that your positive answer thereto ought to be had, before we proceed to act according to the virtue of his majesty's commission.

RICHARD NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

MAY 20th, 1665.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the Massachusetts.

Gentlemen,

TOUCHING the letter, received from the honourable secretary, Sir William Morrice, this Court have considered it, and do intend to return an answer thereto. We humbly conceive it is beyond our line, to declare our sense of the power, intent or purpose of your commission; it is enough for us to acquaint you, what we

conceive is granted to us by his majesty's royal charter. If you rest not satisfied with our former answer, it is our trouble, but we hope it is not our fault. It is known to him, that knows all things, that it is our desire, and hath been our endeavour, according to our best understanding, to give his majesty and yourselves all due satisfaction, saving only our duty to God, and the privilege of our charter, so dearly purchased, so long enjoyed, and so graciously confirmed by his majesty.

By order of the Court,

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry*.

22d of MAY, 1665.

THESE are in his majesty's name, and by virtue of his commission, under his great seal of England, to require you, Joshua Scottow, merchant, to be at Captain Breedon's house in Boston, by nine of the clock in the morning, tomorrow, being Wednesday, May 24th, to answer before us, his majesty's commissioners, to such charge, as is laid against you by Mr. Thomas Deane and others.—Given under our hands, at Boston, in New-England, May the 23d, 1665.

RICHARD NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

To Joshua Scottow, merchant, in Boston.

Here follows a copy of the commissioners' [answer] to the Court's reply.

IN answer to yours of the 22d of May.

Gentlemen,

1. We hold ourselves obliged in duty to his majesty, and out of a singular good affection to the wel-

fare of this his majesty's colony, to declare to this Court, that his majesty will have just cause to manifest his displeasure against the contrivers of such dilatory answers, from whom his majesty doth expect a more cheerful obedience in dutiful performances. The little success of your late address might discourage you from a second, especially when you find his majesty so highly concerned for his prerogative, which he cannot be supposed to have parted withal, by any privileges, or immunities, granted in your charter ; neither ought any of his good subjects to misrepresent his majesty's determinations of maintaining you in them.

2. Since you are pleased, after some day's debate and delay, to return us a more dubious answer than your former to the question propounded by us, whether you do acknowledge his majesty's commission, wherein we are nominated commissioners, to be of full force to all the intents and purposes therein contained, that we may discharge our duties to his majesty, and the trust reposed in us, with faithfulness and integrity, we shall tomorrow, at nine of the clock in the morning, at the house of Captain Thomas Breedon, sit as his majesty's commissioners, to hear and determine the cause of Mr. Thomas Deane and others, plfs. against the governour and company, and Joshua Scottow, merchant, defts. for injustice done Mr. Deane and others, when the Charles, of Oleron, came into this port, whereof we thought fit to give you this notice, that the governour and company is complained of, and that we do expect you will, by your attorney, answer to the complaint.

3. Lastly, and in your own words, it is known to him, that knoweth all things, that it is our desire, and hath been our endeavour, according to our best understanding, and with all openness of heart, to give yourselves all due satisfaction, and therefore you might well have spared that salvo of your duty to God, and the privileges of your charter, whereby you would mysteriously insinuate, that all your liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, were intended to be violated ; which is so high an imputation to his majesty, (who hath so fully declared the contrary) that it

ought not to be believed nor imagined by his good subjects.

RICHARD NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

MAY 23, 1665.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the
Massachusetts.

The famous declaration by the General Court, published by sound of trumpet, in defiance of the proceedings of the royal commissioners, beginning on page 128 of this MS. might be called the thirteenth piece, but as it is contained in the invaluable History of Hutchinson, I. vol. 225 to 227 of ed. 3, it needs not to be here inserted, nor the answer which followed.

Proposals for amendment of our laws, suggested by the commissioners, nowhere appearing in print, are here given as

Document No. XV.

UPON perusal of the book, entitled the Book of the General Laws and Liberties concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts, we find just reason to propose, in his majesty's name, that these ensuing alterations and necessary additions be made.

First ; that his majesty be declared (in the title of the book) to be the fountain, whence his colony of the Massachusetts derive their laws and liberties, by a charter, bearing date, &c.

That a law be made, that all writs, arrests, acts or forms of justice whatsoever, be issued and performed in his majesty's name.

That his majesty's arms be set up in every court of justice within this colony, and that all the masters of vessels, and captains of foot companies do carry the true

colours of England, by which they may be known to be his majesty's legitimate subjects.

That in the 12th capital law, if any conspire, &c. against our commonwealth, commonwealth may be expunged, and against the peace of his majesty's colony be inserted, instead of the other.

That in page 21, title courts, it may be expressed, that the General Court, &c. is the chief civil power of this colony, (not commonwealth) under his majesty.

That in page 22, the 2d part of section 4th, about any publick message or negociation, be explained in proper terms, beseeeming one of his majesty's colonies.

That in page 27, title ecclesiastical, the first proviso extend no further than these words, unless they shall acquaint the magistrates where they intend to join, the rest to be left out, and the second section be wholly left out.

That in the 13th section, title constant preachers be without offence, the phrase of counsel of state may be altered, and care taken that the law be not a prejudice to those that are ministers according to the church of England.

That in page 28, the latter part of section 14th, by open renouncing their church estate, &c. or upon some other such groundless conceit, to be left out, for those who return to the church of England ought not to pay a fine for so doing.

That in the 15th section, there ought to be inserted and ordained to be kept the 5th of November, and the 29th of May, as days of thanksgiving; the first, for the miraculous preservation of our king and country from the gunpowder treason; the second, for his majesty's birth, miraculous and happy restoration to his crown, upon the same day; as also, the 30th of January, a day of fasting and praying, that God would please to avert his judgments from our nation for that most barbarous and execrable murder of our late sovereign, Charles the first; and that the latter part of that section, shall forfeit for his absence from every such meeting 5s, may be left out, or provided that it may not be prejudicial to any person, who is a member of the church of England, and duly attends to God's service accordingly.

That page 30, it be considered escheats are only due to his majesty, who can dispose of them to whom he pleases.

We are satisfied with repealing the law, whose title is fishermen, the first section.

That page 33, none be admitted freemen, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of this jurisdiction, may be explained, and comprehend such as are members of the church of England.

That page the same, the penalty for keeping Christmas, being directly against the law of England, may be repealed.

That page 34, heresy and error ought to be declared with more caution, and a salvo to the church of England, and the members thereof; and that that clause in the said law, their lawful authority to make war, be meant only of the king's; for this colony hath only power, for their special defence and safety, to make defensive war, by their charter.

That page 36, section 9th, the law against Quakers may be so restrained, that they may quietly pass about their lawful occasions, though in other cases they be punished.

That page 38, title Jesuits, the state of England or ourselves be expunged, and in amity with his majesty be inserted.

That page 40, the law for settling the Indians' title to land may be explained, for it seems as if they were dispossessed of their land by scripture, which is both against the honour of God, and the justice of the king. Yet in Gen. i. 28, subdue the earth, is but equivalent to have dominion over the fish of the sea; in Gen. ix. 1, replenish relates to generation, not husbandry. In 115th Psalm, 16, children of men comprehends Indians, as well as English; and no doubt the country is theirs till they give it or sell it, though it be not improved.

That page 59, the committee to press soldiers, care be taken that his majesty's authority be not hereby lessened, but that his warrant or command may be obeyed here, as in all other his dominions.

That page 61, title money, the law that a mint house, &c. be repealed ; for coining is royal prerogative, for the usurping of which the act of indemnity only is a salvo.

That page 66, in the title to the law, powder, the government of England may be changed into his majesty, or the preface left out.

We are satisfied, that the 2d section, title ships, being against the act of navigation, is repealed.

That page 73, title strangers to be succoured, that law comprehend not such as fly from his majesty's justice in England.

There is no power in the charter to incorporate with other colonies, nor to exercise any power by that association ; both belongs to the king's prerogative.

If there be any other indecent expressions, and repetitions of the word commonwealth, state, and the like, in other pages, we desire they may be changed.

RICHARD NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

MAY 24th, 1665.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the Massachusetts.

From page 145 to page 168, the contents seem sufficiently important to deserve greater diffusion than they have ever yet obtained, and may here be printed as

Document No. XVI.

Gentlemen,

WE have herewith sent you a map of the lands we conceive to be granted us by our charter ; our southerly limits are uncontroverted, (as far as we know) and as yourselves are pleased to express. Some pretences and claims we know are made against our northerly line, in relation whereto we shall be ready, whenever you please, by writing or conference with yourselves, and oth-

er gentlemen concerned therein, to declare the grounds and reasons of our claim, and of our exercise of government there for so many years past, to the end you may be enabled to satisfy his majesty of the true state of the controversy, if no other expedient be found to mutual satisfaction.

By order of the Court,

Dated 24, 3, '65.

THOMAS DANFORTH.

For the Honourable Colonel Richard Nicholls, and the rest of his majesty's honourable commissioners.

26, 3, 1665. THE governour, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Willoughby, deputy governour, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Simons, Captain Gookin, Major Willard, Mr. Russell, Major Hawthorne, Major Leverett, Major Lusher, Thomas Danforth, took the oath of allegiance in court, as it is in Dalton's Justice of the Peace ; they declaring, that the same is to be understood not infringing the liberties of the patent.

WHEREAS his majesty's honourable commissioners have informed this Court, that Mr. Thomas Deane hath exhibited a complaint to his majesty of some injustice done to him and other his majesty's subjects, who joined with him in endeavouring to procure the execution of the act of Parliament, when the Charles, of Oleron, came into this port of Boston, about the year 1661, and that, in the carriage thereof, they did not receive the countenance of some, who were then in authority, as they ought to do, and were in plain terms denied justice, even with reproaches for requiring the same ; in reference whereto, his majesty hath manifested his will and pleasure, that his above said commissioners should examine the whole proceedings in that cause and that upon full deliberation and examination thereof, they cause justice to be done, and such reparation to be given to the said Mr. Thomas Deane, and the rest who joined with him in the prosecu-

tion of that business, as upon the merits of the cause, and by virtue of the said act of Parliament they ought to receive.

This Court do therefore order, that warrant be issued forth by the secretary, to summon the above said Mr. Thomas Deane to appear before the Court now sitting, on the morrow morning, at nine of the clock, to make out the truth of his complaint, and the grounds thereof; and that his majesty's honourable commissioners have notice given them by the secretary hereof, that so, according to his majesty's command to them, they may understand the grounds of the said complaint, and justice shall be done accordingly.

By order of the Court,

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

MAY 26, 1665.

For the Honourable Colonel R. Nicholls, and the rest of his majesty's commissioners.

To Thomas Deane, of Boston, merchant, and also to Thomas Kellond, of said Boston, merchant, and such other as are concerned with them.

You are required in his majesty's name to make your personal appearance before the General Court, now sitting at Boston, at nine of the clock, on 27th of this instant May, to prosecute and make out the truth of your complaints, and the grounds thereof, in relation to the ship Charles, of Oleron, that so justice may be done you therein. Hereof not to fail. Dated at Boston, 26th of May, 1665. By order of the Court,

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

Gentlemen,

AFTER your interruption of our intentions to have proceeded in the case of Mr. Thomas Deane, cum sociis, according to his majesty's commission, and par-

tiular instructions therein, which we must conclude to be a violation of his majesty's authority to us committed, we could not have imagined that you would have assumed to yourselves the hearing of the same case, wherein the governour and company are impleaded, which is an unheard of practice, and contrary to all the laws of christendom, that the same persons should be judges and parties. We hope you will, upon better consideration, alter your resolutions, especially since his majesty hath so expressly directed us to examine the whole proceedings in that cause, to the end that justice be done; we do therefore, in his majesty's name, declare to the General Court, that it is contrary to his majesty's will and pleasure, that the cause should be examined by any other court or persons than ourselves, who are, by his majesty's commission, the sole judges thereof, and have already taken the matter into consideration.

RI: NICHOLLS,
ROBERT CARR,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

MAY 26, 1665.

To the General Court of his majesty's colony of the
Massachusetts.

THIS Court, accounting it their duty, according to their poor ability, to acknowledge their humble thanks to his majesty for the many and continued expressions of his tender care and fatherly respect to this his colony, do order, that in the best commodity that may be procured in this his colony, meet for transportation and accommodation of his majesty's navy, unto the value of 500*l*. the whole charge be forthwith prepared and sent by the first opportunity, and the deputy governour, the major general, Captain Thomas Clarke, Captain Corwin, Mr. Usher, Captain Davis, Mr. Hull, and Captain Lake, are nominated a committee to procure the said commodity, and to take order for the transportation

thereof, whose engagements shall be discharged by the treasurer, out of the next country rate ; and Mr. William Browne is joined to the above named committee ; and the major part of this committee is enabled to act, as is above expressed. By order of the Court.

25, 3, 1665.

EWD: RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*

BEFORE I take the oath of allegiance to his majesty, which I am ready to do, I do declare, that I will be so understood, as not to infringe the liberty and privileges, granted in his majesty's royal charter to this colony of the Massachusetts.

THOMAS DANFORTH.

26, 3, 1665. When the oath was given me, I thus openly declared, and a copy hereof is left on file under my hand. See page *32, where the commissioners propound that a committee might be nominated by the Court to confer with them.

In answer whereto, the Court nominated Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Danforth and Major General Leverett, Captain Clark, Captain Johnson, Captain Hubbard, Mr. Jackson and Captain Waldron, to attend them, who attending them 21st of May, 1665.

Where met, they insisted on our answer to such complaints, as were exhibited to them against us ; we alleged our charter for exemption from appeals in all cases proper to our cognizance, and pleaded that thereby we had a sufficient warrant and discharge. Also, we pleaded the unreasonableness, and unsufferableness of such a burden, if imposed on us, to make the whole colony to be liable to respond for the maladministration, if any happened so to be, by any particular magistrate or court ; as also, to cause the whole colony to respond every delinquent, that had been here sentenced, for thirty years past, when those, that had cognizance thereof, were removed by death ; whereto they replied, that we had liberty to make laws, and execute them, but that did not warrant, nor there was any law repugnant to the law of England, or any injustice done by us.

Our answer thereto was, that if we could be charged with bribes or malice in dispensing justice, we would not justify the same, but if otherwise, we were excused. But they still insisted on our answering to them as a court of appeals. On the question put to them, 1. By what laws they would proceed in judicature, they answered, by the laws of England.

2. In what way (i. e.) whether they would have a jury to pass on such cases as they heard, they answered, no.

Also, on the question whether they would take in more witnesses than appeared in court on the first hearing, they answered, yea.

This conference was before we gave our answer to instructions No. 7, 8.

THOMAS DANFORTH.

A BRIEF narrative of the late negotiation between his majesty's colony of the Massachusetts, and the Honourable Colonel Ri: Nicholls, Sir Robert Carr, kt. George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, esquires.

The General Court of the Massachusetts being assembled at Boston, the 28th of May, 1664, information was given them, that they might suddenly expect the arrival of some of his majesty's ships, with commissioners to visit his majesty's colonies in these parts of America. Upon which intelligence the Court appointed two gentlemen, whose habitations are in Boston, (the chief maritime town of the colony) on the arrival of the said commissioners, to wait on them and present them with the Court's service and respects, together with such civilities as the [country] is capable of.

July 23, 1664. Col. Ri: Nicholls and George Cartwright, esquire, about five or six of the clock at night, arrived at Boston, and in their reception, manifested their desires, that the council might, without delay, be assembled, which by order from the governour was accordingly done, July 26, 1664. The council assembled together and courteously entertained his majesty's honourable commissioners, who presented the governour and

council with his majesty's letter to them directed, dated April 23, 1664, and their commission under the broad seal of England; with that part of his majesty's instructions referring to the reducing of the Dutch at the Manhattoes, true copies whereof are here inserted, in the order as they were presented and read before the council, 23 April, 1664.

1. His majesty's letter, Charles R.—Trusty and well beloved, &c.

2. His majesty's commission, Charles the second, &c.

3. The instructions, second part of the king's instructions to us, &c. dated July 27, 1664.

The council, after some deliberation, gave their answer to the above proposal in writing, a copy whereof here followeth.

BOSTON, *July 27, 1664.* In answer to a proposition, made by the Honourable Colonel Ri : Nicholls, &c.

On delivery whereof the commissioners manifested themselves not well satisfied with the council's act, and informed the governour and council, that there was yet many more things, which they had in charge from his majesty to signify to them, which work they would attend at their return from the Manhattoes; and commended to the Court, that in the mean time they would further consider of his majesty's letter to this colony, June 28, 1662, and give a more satisfactory answer to his majesty concerning the same than formerly.

A copy of which letter here followeth: Trusty and well beloved, &c.

AUGUST 3, 1664. The General Court assembled, where his majesty's letters, commission and instructions, with the proposal thereupon, as before recited, were again openly read, and the Court was informed of that, which the commissioners signified to the council, relating to his majesty's letter, June 28, 1662, all which were at large debated by the whole Court; the result whereof was, That this Court doth expressly declare, that it is their resolution to bear faith, &c.

The question being put, &c,—and 2ndly, they resolved to assist his majesty in the present expedition to the Mannhattans by raising 200 volunteers, &c. and proceeded to nominate and commissionate captains, lieutenants, and other officers, ordering the treasurer to disburse money out of the publick treasury of the colony for the encouragement of the said volunteers, and for their supply of victuals and ammunition; all which, being thus agreed upon, the Court despatched away two gentlemen, as their messengers to the commissioners, by that time supposed to be arrived near to, or before the Manhattoes, (in distance from Boston, near, if not altogether 200 miles) to inform them of the Court's proceedings as to their supply, and although there was no order given by the commissioners for the soldiers, thus listed, to march from Boston, (the Dutch voluntarily surrendering up that place on articles agreed upon between them) yet on this expedition there was expended out of the publick treasury of this colony, for the encouragement of the soldiers listed, their maintenance until discharged, and for their provisions and ammunition, &c. together with payments made to such as were sent with their ships to pilot them into that harbour.

And in reference to his majesty's letter, June 28, 1662, the Court, then assembled, passed an order, a copy whereof here followeth. In answer to that part of his majesty's letter, &c. leaving the other part of the said letter to be further considered at the return of the commissioners from the Manhattoes.

And the commissioners, departing from Boston, immediately before the sitting of the General Court, although they left a copy of his majesty's commission with the council, yet they were not pleased to present either the council or the Court, then met, with a sight of his majesty's further instructions, directing and limiting them in the exercise of their commission in this colony, which, with some words and carriages, distasteful to the people, falling from some of them, and in particular, Mr. Samuel Maverick, on his first arrival in Piscataqua river, menacing the constable of Portsmouth, whiles he was in the exer-

cise of his office, on which the people thought it necessary to [apply to] Sir Robert Carr, for a full understanding of such motions, who judged it meet to declare, that they ought to continue in their obedience to the present government, till they had further orders. These things occasioned in the hearts and minds of the people a deep sense of the sad events threatening this colony, in case the commissioners should improve their power in such a manner as they feared they would ; on whose general solicitude for the preserving of their enjoyments, according to their present constitution, granted to this colony by his majesty's royal charter under the great seal of England, the General Court, consisting of governour, deputy governour, magistrates, and deputies of the several towns, resolved immediately to make their addresses to his majesty, a copy whereof here followeth.

To the king's most excellent majesty, &c.

THE Dutch being reduced, as above is expressed, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, esquires, returned again to Boston, and, on the 15th of February, 1664, had a meeting with the governour and several of the magistrates, at the governour's house, where they acquainted the governour and magistrates, that they were resolved on the morrow to repair to Plymouth, to deliver his majesty's letter, and to communicate his majesty's grace and favour to them ; and further signified their desire, that order might be taken for all the assembling of all concerned in our charter, at the day of our election, that so they might understand his majesty's grace and favour towards them ; and that at their return, some might be appointed to go along with them, to shew them the bounds of our patent ; to the latter of which proposals the magistrates manifested a ready compliance ; but for the former (i. e.) the assembling of the people at the day of election, to this it was answered, that all were at their liberty to come, if they would ; there was no prohibition, nor could they see into

the reason of such a motion, at least, could not encourage to it, not only for the business of the season, but the leaving a considerable part of the people, wives, children and aged persons, to the rage of the natives, that might lay hold of such an opportunity ; to which Colonel Cartwright replied, that the motion was so reasonable, that he that would not attend it, was a traitor, and before their departure, sent their letters into the country, to some non freemen, a copy whereof here followeth.

Sirs, we desire you to acquaint all your neighbours, &c.

The commissioners, having despatched their occasions at Plymouth, passed on to Warwick and to Pettasquamsuck, from whence they issued forth sundry warrants and declarations, true copies whereof are as followeth.— These are in his majesty's name, &c. Dated, March 21, 1664. Signed at Pattasquamsuck, and directed to Captain Prentice, Amos Richards, and Roger Plaisted, also, of like terms, the said Plaisted living about 120 miles from that place.

Also, a declaration by them directed to the purchasers of the Narraganset country, as followeth. Having received from some of the principal sachems, &c. Also, another at Warwick, as followeth. We, by the power given us, &c. Here also follows a copy of their protection to John Porter, Junior. We require you to be at Boston, &c. Here followeth a warrant for seizing of Captain Gookin's estate. Also a copy of an act passed, referring to Pomham and his company, and to Harmon Garrett and his company.

The first writ of Quo Warranto against our ancestors, having never appeared in print, though the information, on which it issued, and the result of the process, may be seen in the admirable Collection of Hutchinson, pp. 101—104, is inserted as

Document No. XVII.

Here follows a copy of a Quo Warranto, sent over to the country sundry years since.

CAROLUS Rex. &c.

To the Sheriffs of London, greeting.

WE command you that you take Henry Rosewell, knight, John Young, knight, Ri : Saltonstall, knight, John Humphrey, John Endicott, Simon Whitcomb, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Rich. Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchon, and George Foxcroft, freemen of the society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and others, freemen of Massachusetts Bay in New England, if they shall be found in your bailywick, and them to commit to safe custody, so that you have their bodies before us, in octav. sn. Mich. wheresoever we shall then be in England, to answer us, by what warrant they claim to have divers liberties, privileges and franchises, within the city of London and the liberties of the same ; whereupon they are summoned ; and there you shall have this writ.

THOMAS BRAMTON.

At Westminster, 17th day of June, in the eleventh year of our reign.

Next follows that honorary testimony to our fathers, declared by the Parliament in 1642, giving us advantages in trade, which is published in most of the volumes that treat of our country. With that paper closes the volume, as it is paged from the end at which we began. Turning the manuscript upside down, we find it commences, at the other end, in the midst of a speech, but we are unable to compute with certainty what part of the volume is lost, as we could before, because the pages are not numbered. It seems probable, however, that the first article was the speech of Deputy Governour Willoughby, or at least this appears to be the earliest of the incomplete part, as, at the close of the speech our MS. proceeds :

After he had done speaking, Mr. Cobbit went to prayer. Mr. Michill concluded with a brief prayer.

Then follows an account of the assembly of the General Court, and the cause of it, in 1666.

11, 7 mo. 1666. THE General Court assembled by summons from the deputy governour, FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY, ESQ.

On the account of a signification from his majesty, requiring the council of this colony to send five able and meet persons to make answer for refusing the jurisdiction of his commissioners last year; whereof Mr. Richard Bellingham and Mr. Hawthorne to be two of them, whom he requires on their allegiance to come by the first opportunity;—The Court met and agreed to spend the forenoon of the next day in prayer.

12, 7 mo. 1666. The Court met, and sundry elders, and spent the forenoon in prayer.

These prayed,
Mr. Wilson,
Mr. Mather,
Mr. Symmes,
Mr. Whiting,
Mr. Cobitt,
Mr. Mitchel.

13, 7 mo. 1666. The Court met, and the elders were present, after lecture; and some debate had in Court, concerning the duty we owe to his majesty in reference to his signification, a copy whereof here followeth.

The king's letter of 10 April, 1666, inserted in the MS. which occasioned this extraordinary session of the Court, is already printed in I. Hutch. Apx. xix.

The laborious exertions of Hutchinson seem to be less successful on this subject than on most others. His report is exceedingly brief, being contained in only two

sentences. Hubbard, who seems never to be successful, but when he copies, is wholly silent on this occasion, which however seems one of the most interesting events in the history of New England.

14th, 7 mo. 1666. The Court assembled. Sundry petitions exhibited from

Boston, 26,
Salem, 35,
Ipswich, 73,
Newbury, 39.

In the report of the following debate in council, the names are given by conjecture, the original having only the initial letters.

Debated as followeth :

Bellingham. That some regular way be propounded whereby the king's offence taken against us, referring to himself, any without us, or among us, may come to a legal issue.

Bradstreet. I grant legal process in a course of law reach us not in an ordinary course, yet I think his prerogative gives him power to command our appearance, which before God and men we are to obey.

Dudley. The king's commands pass any where ; Ireland, Calais, &c. although ordinary process from judges and officers pass not.

No doubt but you may have a trial at law, when you come in England, if you desire it, and you may insist upon it and claim it.

Willoughby. Whether God doth not call us to argue one way, as well as another, whether Calais, Dunkirk—have not been governed by commission, and if this be allowed, how easily may the king in one year undo all that he hath done ; and we must as well consider God's displeasure as the king's, the interest of ourselves and God's things, as his majesty's prerogative : for our lib-

erties are of concernment, and to be regarded as to the preservation ; for if the king may send for me now, and another to-morrow, we are a miserable people.

Dudley. Prerogative is as necessary as law, and is for the good of the whole, that there be always power in being to act, and where there is a right of power it will be abused, so long as 'tis in the hands of weak men, and the less pious, the more apt to miscarry ; but right may not be denied because it may be abused.

Hathorne. This age hath brought forth many treatises about prerogative, and do affirm, that prerogative is not above law, but limited by it, and the law states in what cases prerogative is to take place.

Stoughton. Corporations in England may lose their privileges, but yet not government, because they have still the laws of the land for their defence. The king can do no wrong, because he acts according to law.

E——. We are called to answer to matter of fact, before his personal judgment, and two named, when no matter is alledged against them, and 'tis too hard to put us in the same condition with Calais ; and if a summons, no legal forms, as seal, &c. nor order to issue, according to the patent.

To come to a narrow, what is our privilege and what is prerogative ? But what is present duty and safety, all duty is regulated, and so our prince legal, and when we can't submit actively, we must passively, to God and our prince.

Bradstreet. Many of them that have estates to send to England, are afraid that they will suffer there, if nothing be done. I neither knew nor saw any thing about the petitions.

Dudley. If we shall refuse to answer here to commissioners, and in England also, what will the king say ? Is it not plain that jurisdiction is denied to his majesty ?

Though no appeal lies to his majesty, so to stop justice, but it may proceed to the uttermost, yet the king may accept any complaint, and require an answer there-

to, so that our absolute power to determine must not abate the king's prerogative.

After dinner, Mr. Winthrop and Sir Th. Temple motioned to the governour and magistrates, that there might be a joint consideration of an answer to the king's letters sent to the colony, concerning invading of the French.

Also, Sir Thomas moved, that he might issue out commissions from the bay, and that they might be judged here by our Court of Admiralty. Also, pleaded that he had a special grant from his majesty of all prizes taken in Nova Scotia, and the privilege of all royalties for the maintenance of the place ; pleaded that he was admiral of all these seas.

M. L. answered, that we gave commission to infest our enemies on the coasts, and it was no matter in what coasts the enemy was taken ; they were the king's enemies.

Sir T. T. If Nova Scotia be taken by France, all this bay will quickly be blocked up.

Let me tell you the king looks on this country as a formidable place of great wealth and power ; now if the king neglect you on the one hand, trusting to your strength, and you yourselves on the other, and were the king truly informed of the state of things, he would neither neglect you nor himself, and if Tracy be settled in Nova Scotia, you will find him the worst neighbour that ever you had. Therefore take not away that little matter of benefit. It must go to the king, and it will be some help, tho' little.

A letter from his majesty, dated 22 February 1665—6, signed, Charles R. and a seal, commending to the country the opportunity to invade the French at Canada, and requiring to publish his declaration of war against the French.

A copy hereof follows.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. In former letters we have directed you to put yourselves in the best way of defence you could against the assaults of the French and Dutch in those parts, and for the securing the coming of all ships hither; towards which you may assure yourselves, that we will cooperate from home with our accustomed care for the good of our subjects. And because the time offers itself more favourably now than ever for delivering yourselves from those inquiet neighbours, we have thought fit to write this unto you, to authorise you to apply yourselves with all your force and skill to the reducing to our obedience all islands and plantations in those parts, belonging to the French or Dutch nation, and especially that of Canada, the effecting of which we must leave to your prudence and good conduct, since it is impossible at such a distance to instruct you therein; and that our trusty and well beloved Sir Thomas Temple, our governour of Nova Scotia, may the better correspond with you, and be assistant therein, we have by our letters required him thereunto; herewith sending you our declaration of the war against France, which you are to publish in the manner you shall think fit, taking the substance thereof, and varying the form of it according to what hath been used in such cases; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 22d day of February, in the 18th year of our reign, 1665—6.

By his majesty's command.

ARLINGTON.

Mattachusetts,

and a [seal.]

A letter from the King dated Feb. 25. 1665-6 was the one to publish here. Found in in L. America i. 166-169. & another dated Apr. 1666 in L. of America i. 169-171.

Next follows the petition, in which the minority of our fathers have exhibited so much good sense and sound policy, that, though it be already in print, p. 511 of Hutchinson's Collection, yet, as the names of the signers

from the principal towns are given, it seemed fit to be here inserted.

BOSTON PETITION.

To the Hond : General Court, now assembled in Boston.

May it please the Hond : Court.

YOUR humble petitioners being informed that letters are lately sent from his majesty to the governour and council, expressive of his ill resentment of the proceedings of this colony with his commissioners lately sent hither, and requiring also some principal persons therein, with command upon their allegiance, to attend his majesty's pleasure in order to a final determination of such differences and debates, as have happned between his majesty's commissioners and the governour here, and which declaration of his majesty, your petitioners, looking at as a matter of the greatest importance, justly calling for the most serious consideration, that they might not be wanting, either to yourselves in withholding any encouragement, that their concurrence might afford, in so arduous a matter, nor to themselves and the country in being involved by their silence in the dangerous mistakes of (otherwise well minded) persons inclining to disloyal principles; they desire they may have liberty, without offence, to propose some of their thoughts and fears about the matter unto your more serious deliberation.

Your petitioners humbly conceive, that those who live in this age are no less than others concerned in that advice of the wise man, to keep the king's commandment, because of the oath of God, and not to be hasty to go out of his sight that doth whatever pleaseth him, wherefore they desire, that seeing his majesty hath already taken no little displeasure against us, as if we disowned his majesty's jurisdiction over us, effectual care may be taken, lest by refusing to attend his majesty's order for the clearing our pretences unto right and favour in that particular, we should plunge ourselves into great disfavour and danger. The receiving a charter from his

majesty's royal predecessor for the planting of this colony, with a confirmation of the same from his royal person, by our late address sufficiently declares this place to be part of his dominions, and ourselves his subjects. In testimony of which, also, the first governour, Mr. Matthew Craddock (as we are informed) stands recorded, *juratus de fide et obedientia*, before one of the masters of chancery; whence it is evident, that if any proceedings of this colony have given occasion to his majesty to say, that we believe he hath no jurisdiction over us, what effectual course had need be taken to free ourselves from the incurring of his majesty's further displeasure by continuance in so dangerous an offence? and to give his majesty all due satisfaction in that point, such an assertion would be no less destructive to our welfare, than derogating from his majesty's honour. The doubtful interpretations of the words of a patent, which there can be no reason to hope should ever be construed to the divesting of a sovereign prince of his royal power over his natural subjects and liege people, is too frail a foundation to build such a transcendant immunity and privilege upon. Your petitioners shall ever be willing to acknowledge to the utmost how much they are bound to yourselves, and others in the like capacity, for your abundant care and pains in carrying on the government of the colony, and endeavouring to uphold the liberties thereof; and should not be unwilling to run any hazard with you for the regular defence and security of the same; and would be most unwilling to reflect upon the persons of them they so much honour and respect, by an unnecessary dissenting from them in some things, wherein they could not approve the reasons of their proceedings, but in matter of so great concernment as is the matter now in agitation, wherein the honour of God, and the credit of religion, as well as the interest of their own persons and estates are all concerned; they earnestly desire, that no part will so irresistibly carry on any design of so dangerous a consequence, as to necessitate their brethren, equally engaged with them in the same undertaking, to make their particular address to his majesty, and declara-

tion to the world, to clear themselves from the least imputation of so scandalous an evil, as the appearance of disaffection or disloyalty to the person and government of their lawful prince and sovereign would be.

Wherefore your petitioners do here humbly intreat, that if any occasion hath been given to his majesty so to resent any former actings, as in his last letter is held forth, that nothing of that nature be further proceeded in, but contrarywise, that application be made to his majesty by meet persons, immediately to be sent for the end, to clear the transactions of them that govern this colony from any such construction, lest otherwise that which, if duly improved, might have been as a cloud of the latter rain, be turned into that which, in the conclusion, may be found more terrible than the roaring of a lion; thus craving of a favourable interpretation of what is here humbly presented, your petitioners shall ever be obliged to thankfulness, &c.

John Jolliffe,
Hab: Glover,
Robert Gibbs,
Thomas Kellond,
Bernard Trott,
Antipas Boys,
Thomas Savage, Sen.
Richard Wharton,
John Winslow,
John Freake,
Samuel Scarlett,
James Whitcomb,
Richard Price,

William Taylor,
John Woodmansey,
Samuel Bradstreet,
John Bushnell,
John Conney,
Thomas Breeden,
Thomas Deane,
Nicholas Page,
Thomas Brattle,
Simon Lynde,
Ephraim Turner,
Richard Patteshall,
Henry Taylor.

Salem, Newbury and Ipswich petitions were to the same purpose, and same words. Names of Salem petitioners are these.

Zerubabel Endicott,
Nathaniel Putnam,
John Rucke,

William Woodcock,
Bartholomew Gedney,
Eleazer Gedney,

Samuel Parr,
John West,
Jeffrey Massey,
John Massey,
John Putnam,
Edmund Batter,
John Gedney, Jun.
Elias Mason,
Thomas West,
Richard Waters,
William Flint,
John Knight,
William Lake,
John Norton,

Job Hilyard,
John Ingerson,
Daniel Rumball,
Jonathan Ager,
Jonathan Pickering,
Richard Hide,
John Pickering,
John Buttels,
Anthony Ashby,
Isaac Williams,
Francis Collins,
Edward Flint,
William Browne.

Newbury Petitioners.

Nicholas Batt,
James Browne,
John Atkinson,
Joshua Browne,
John Badger,
Hugh March,
William Chandler,
Thomas Parker,
John Woodbridge,
William Gerrish,
Daniel Peirce,
Richard Lowle,
Henry Short,
Benjamin Woodbridge,
Nathaniel Clark,
Stephen Jewett,
James Mirrick,
Joseph Muzzy,
James Jackson,
Thomas Hale, Sen.

Anthony Sommerby,
William Thomas,
Francis Brown,
Anthony Short,
Abiel Sommerby,
Nicholas Noyes,
Daniel Thurston,
Tristram Coffin,
Percival Lowle,
Samuel Lowle,
John Knight, Sen.
John Knight, Jun.
Paul White,
Abel Huse,
Richard Kent,
James Kent,
John Kent,
Richard Knight,
Thomas Silver.

The petition from Ipswich signed by

John Appleton,
William Norton,
George Gittings,
John Baker, Sen.
Francis Wainwright,
Jeremiah Belcher,
Jeremiah Jewitt,
John Newmarch,
Henry Bennett,
William Story,
John Andrews,
John Lee,
Nathaniel Piper,
Daniel Davison,
Richard Walker,
John Dennison,
Richard Hubbard,
John Perkins,
Jacob Perkins,
Robert Lord, Sen.
Nathaniel Rogers,
Thomas Wayte,
John Safford,
John Brown,
Phil : Fowler, Sen.
Daniel Warner,
Walter Roper,
George Smith,
Edward Woodward,
William Hodgkin,
Kaleb Kemball,
Anthony Wood,
John Whipple, Jun.
Moses Pengry,
John Gittings,
Samuel Gittings,
Robert Colburn, Sen.

John Whipple, 3tius.
Thomas Clark, Sen.
William Mover,
Theophilus Wilson,
Thomas Knowlton,
Samuel Adams,
Freegrace Norton,
Richard Kemble, Sen.
Joseph Browne,
Andrew Peters,
Thomas Lovell,
John Sparks,
Robert Whitman,
Haniel Bosworth,
John Norton,
Samuel Lord,
Thomas Kemball,
Robert Lord, Jun.
Thomas Harris,
Thomas Low,
Samuel Ingols,
John Caldwell,
Samuel Rogers,
John Burr,
Robert Day,
Thomas Hart,
Ezekiel Rogers,
John Payne,
Joseph Whipple,
John Kenrick,
Thomas Clark, Jun.
Thomas Clark, 3tius.
Simon Thompson,
John Roberts,
Thomas Newman,
John Woodham.

The subsequent piece is the copy of verses, which was printed in page 104 of vol. iv. of our second series.

Following these sarcastic lines comes more valuable matter.

An answer to the king's signification was passed by the Court, to which Mr. Bradstreet replied.

B. I fear we take not a right course for our safety. It is clear that this signification is from his majesty. I do desire to have it remembered, that I do dissent, and desire that I may have it recorded, that I dissent from that part of it, as 'tis an answer to the king's signification.

Court's answer to the king's signification.

Right Honourable,

HIS MAJESTY'S gracious letter, directed to the governour and council, dated 22d of February, 1665—6, was received, and communicated to the council 17th of July, 1666. We do, with all thankfulness, acknowledge his great care in forewarning us of our danger by the French and Dutch, and directing us to prepare for our defence, which, according to our weak ability we have been, and are endeavouring. As touching the reducing of Canada, &c. we have advised with Sir Thomas Temple, governour of Nova Scotia, and with the governour of Connecticott, who doth conclude with us, that it is not feasible, as well in respect of the difficulty (if not impossibility) of a land march over the rocky mountains and howling deserts about 400 miles, as the strength of the French there according to report. His majesty's declaration of the war against France, sent enclosed, it was solemnly published here by sound of trumpet. We have sustained some loss and damage by the French and Dutch in our shipping abroad, and in our smaller vessels upon our coasts, where, at our very doors, a man of war hath taken two or three vessels to a considerable value. Whereupon some of ours, by commission from hence

have lately taken three or four of their fishing ships upon the coasts of Canada; and for the future, we shall endeavour, by the assistance of God, to preserve and defend the honour and interest of his majesty, and the English nation in these parts. We may not omit to acquaint your honor, that a writing was delivered to the governor and magistrates by Mr. Samuel Maverick, the 6th Sep. without direction or seal, which he saith is a copy of a signification from his majesty of his pleasure concerning this colony of the Massachusetts; the certainty whereof seems not to be so clear unto us as former expresses from his majesty have usually been. We have, in all humility, given our reasons, why we could not submit to the commissioners and their mandates the last year, which we understand lie before his majesty, to the substance whereof we have not to add; and therefore can't expect that the ablest persons among us could be in a capacity to declare our case more fully.

We must therefore commit this our great concernment unto Almighty God, praying and hoping that his majesty (a prince of so great clemency) will consider the estate and condition of his poor and afflicted subjects, at such a time, being in imminent danger by the publick enemies of our nation by sea and land, and that in a wilderness, far remote from relief; wherefore we do, in most humble wise, prostrate ourselves before his majesty, and beseech him to be gracious pleased to rest assured of our loyalty and allegiance, according to our former profession: thus with our humble service to your honor, and earnest prayers to God for his majesty's temporal and eternal happiness, we remain your honor's humble servants.

17, 7mo. 1666.

19, 7mo. 1666. Major Dennison declared his dissent from the letter to be sent to Secretary Morrice, as not being proportionate to the end desired, and he hopes, intended, and desired it might be entered. Viz. due satisfaction to his majesty, and the preservation of the peace and liberty of this colony.

October 10th, 1666. The General Court met again, according to adjournment in May last. At this court many express themselves very sensible of our condition. Several earnest for sending, and some against sending. Those for sending none spake out fully, that they would have the governour and Major Hawthorne go ; but some will have men go to plead our cause with his majesty ; to answer what may be alleged against us, alleging reason, religion, and our own necessity, as forcing us thereto. Others are against it, as being the loss of all, by endangering a quo warranto to be brought against our patent, and so to be condemned ; and a middle sort would have some go to present the Court's present to his majesty of two masts, and a ship's load of masts ; and in case any demand were made why the governour, Major Hawthorne and others did not appear, to crave his majesty's favour therein, and to plead with his majesty, shewing how inconsistent it is with our being, for any to be forced to appear to answer in a judicial way in England, to answer either appeals or complaints against the country.

This last proposal is obstructed by sundry, as being ruinous to the whole ; and so nothing can be done, the governour and some others chiefly opposing it ; so as that no orderly debate can be had to know the mind of the Court.

The Court agreed to send his majesty two large masts aboard Capt. Peirce, 34 yards long, and the one 36 and the other 37 inches diameter ; and agreed to levy a *l*.1000, for the payment of what is needful at present.

But is obstructed, by reason none will lend money, unless men be sent, and others, because any thing is sent ; a return whereof being made to the Court, they say they know not what to do more, in case they that have money, will not part with it, they are at a stand. Some speak of raising by rate immediately. Others think there is so much dissatisfaction, that men are not sent, that it will provoke and raise a tumult ; and in case that it be raised by loan, it will be hardly paid. If content be not given in their sending men with it, and there be no good effect, which is contingent, and thus we are every way at

a stand; some fearing these actings will precipitate our ruin, and others apprehending that to act further, will necessitate our ruin.

Here is man's weakness and extremity. What a favour will it be, if it may be God's opportunity. That it may be so, for mercy to us and ours, the Lord grant.

The storm made by the complaints was no sooner blown over, but as one wave followeth another, so immediately there followed at the heels of that the prevalency of Anabaptists, threatening to overturn all in church and state, presumptuously, and with a high hand contemning, in their schismatical opposing the Church of Christ, all means used for their suppression notwithstanding. Whereupon at a council, held at Boston in March, 1667—8, an act was passed for their orderly conviction by the labours of some of the reverend elders, a copy whereof here followeth.

The debates of this wonder working conference are here given in short hand; and we may be sure the writer is not deficient in the fulness, however doubtful of the impartiality of his report. The session lasted two days, beginning the 14th of April, the doings whereof occupy forty pages, and the next day twenty six. Whether the importance of the subject will ever cause the unlocking of this cabinet, to which some curious person might easily invent a key, is hardly worth inquiry. No book has ever mentioned the subject, except Benedict and Backus' history of the Baptists; from the first volume, p. 391 of the former, we make this extract: "They were challenged to a publick dispute upon their peculiar sentiments, that it might be determined, whether they were erroneous or not. The six following divines, viz. Messrs. John Allen, Thomas Cobbet, John Higginson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell, and Thomas Shepard, were nominated to manage the dispute on the Pedobaptist side, which was appointed to be April 14, 1668, in the meeting house in Boston at 9 o'clock in the morning. But lest these six learned clergymen should not be a match for a few illiterate Baptists, the governour and magistrates were request-

ed to meet with them. The news of this dispute soon spread abroad, and Mr. Clark's church in Newport sent William Hiscox, Joseph Tory, and Samuel Hubbard, to assist their brethren in Boston in it, who arrived there three days before it was to come on. No particular account of this dispute has been preserved."

The account in this MS. if decyphered, would undoubtedly be particular enough, and probably tend little to the edification of our age. It begins "Mr. John Allin and Mr. Whiting, senr. were chosen for moderators, and Mr. John Allin made this following speech." After this opening address of the moderator, the conference seems, from the quick alternation of the dialogue, as the speakers' names indicate, to have been more animated than might be expected. The governour speaks first in two lines, then Goold, in ten lines. Allen, Cobbet, Mitchell, Gookin, Higginson, Whiting, Shepard, Hull, Grindall, Symes, senr. Danforth, Thacher, appear on the side of the Court against the Baptists, whose disputants were Goold, Russell, Turner, Johnson, Bowers, Thrumble, Drinker, Farnam; but the eloquence and argument of each is lost in an impartial oblivion.

The thanks of the Historical Society, at their stated meeting in August, were voted to the gentleman, by whose exemplary diligence the preceeding papers were transcribed.

Σ.

A DESCRIPTION OF NATARDIN OR CATARDIN MOUNTAIN—BEING AN EXTRACT FROM A LETTER, WRITTEN BY CHARLES TURNER, JUN. ESQ. IN THE SUMMER OF 1804, WHICH WAS ONE OF THE SEVERAL SEASONS IN WHICH HE HAS BEEN EMPLOYED IN THE INTERIOR, AND NORTH OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE, AS A SURVEYOR.

ON Monday, August 13th, 1804, at 8 o'clock, A. M. we left our canoes at the head of boat-waters, in a small clear stream of spring water, which came in different rivulets

from the mountain, the principal of which (as we afterwards found) issued from a large gully near the top of the mountain. At 5 o'clock, P. M. we reached the summit of the mountain. Catardin is the southernmost and highest of a collection of eight or ten mountains, extending from it north east and north west. Round this mountain, on the west, south and east sides is a table land extending about four miles, rising gradually to the foot of the mountain. This table land is much elevated and overlooks all the country except the mountains; when viewed from the mountain however it appears like a plane. Leaving the table land, and following a ridge, we endeavoured to gain the summit, at the west end, which appeared most easy of access. From the head of the table land, which we considered as the base of the mountain, we ascended on an elevation, making an angle with the horizon of from 35 to 46 degrees, about two miles. This mountain is composed of rocks, which appear to have been broken or split. The rocks, except at and near the top, are of a coarse grain, of light grey colour, and most of them are crumbling, and of these crumbles the soil, if such it may be called, is composed. The rocks near the top are of finer texture and of a bluish colour. The table land was formerly covered with wood of various kinds; with hard woods near the streams where the soil was good; but with spruce in other parts, the trees lessening in height as we approached and ascended the mountain, until they became dwarfs of only two feet in height, and finally came to nothing at about a half mile from the summit. The rocks and soil in the ascent were covered with a deep green moss. The table land and mountain on the south and east have been burnt over, and are entirely bare, except near the springs and streams. The ridge between the streams on the west seemed to have escaped the fire, and this circumstance enabled us to ascend with greater facility. The south and east sides were from their steepness inaccessible. Having reached the top, we found ourselves on a plane of rocks with coarse gravel in the interstices, and the whole covered with a dead bluish moss. This plane, the westerly part of which was very smooth,

and descending a little to the northward, contained about eight hundred acres. The elevation was so great as sensibly to affect respiration. The day was very calm and sultry, and our toil so great, that when we had found several springs of very clear cold water, our company were inclined to drink of them too freely. Some felt the ill effects immediately, and others were taken with vomiting in the course of the night following; indeed our whole company, which consisted of eleven, found, on the following morning, our throats sore and inflamed. Whether this arose wholly from some ill quality in the water, or partly from eating a variety of fruits, such as raspberries, blue whortleberries, black currants, boxberries and bog cranberries, which we found in abundance from the place where we left our boats to near the top, we could not determine. Though to us, in our thirsty and fatigued condition, the pure spring brought to our minds the fabled nectar of the poets, yet we found that it had a very perceptible astringent quality, and appeared to be impregnated with minerals.

Having arrived at the highest point, which is towards the east end, we found ourselves above all the mountains within our horizon. We could not determine our actual elevation, not having instruments, nor being otherwise prepared to measure the height of the mountain. From this point our view was enchanting; the air however had during the day become a little smoky, which prevented our distinguishing distant objects with that clearness which we could have wished. The plane on the top of the mountain, being nearly a mile and an half in length, would have afforded a base or leg, by which, with correct instruments, we might have determined with a great degree of exactness, the situation and distances of all the principal highlands and mountains in the District of Maine, and the situation and extent of the principal lakes. Here we could see, due north from us, the lake or cross pond, which is the main reservoir of the Aroostook branch of St. John's River, and several smaller lakes. Here we could see, bearing N. W. the lake at the head of St. John's River, the lake that is sketched on our maps

of the District of Maine, N. W. from Moose-head Lake.) West from us, we could see the south end of Moose-head Lake, and N. N. W. its north end, a chain of small mountains lying N. of Piscataquis Mountains, preventing our seeing its centre. Near the westerly part of the mountain which is connected with the Catardin, we could see Cheesauncook Lake, extending N. N. E. and S. S. W. about twenty miles long and five miles broad, which empties into the Penobscot; and south of it, a large lake N. of the E. end of the Piscataquis Mountains, which empties into the Piscataquis River. We counted sixty three lakes of different dimensions which discharge their waters by the Penobscot. S. W. from us lay the Piscataquis Mountains, extending E. and W. nearly, from the Penobscot to the Kennebec: and N. of the lands surveyed, lay a small ridge of mountains, about twenty miles N. of the Piscataquis Mountains. Amongst the collection of mountains near the Catardin, is one lying N. N. W. called by the English Fort Mountain, from its shape; its base being an oblong square or parallelogram, extending N. E. and S. W. and ascending at the sides and ends in an angle of about 45 degrees to a sharp ridge; which ridge is about one mile in length, and is covered with verdure. North of Fort Mountain appears an irregular mountain, on the S. side of which, and near the top, appears an extensive ledge of smooth white rock which glittered like ising-glass. We could clearly discern the high lands, from the Bay of Chaleur westerly, which divide the District of Maine from the Province of Quebec. E. N. E. from us lay Peaked Mountain, over which Bingham's easterly line runs. Mount Desert was also distinctly in view. We could discern the range of high fertile lands extending N. and S. between the Penobscot and Scodisc waters; and those between the Penobscot and Aroostook waters, and St. John's River. But the sun was now declining in the west, and we took leave of the summit of the mountain, after having deposited the initials of our names (William Howe, Amos Patten, Joseph Treat, Samuel Call, William Rice, Richard Winslow, Charles Turner, Jun.) and the date, cut upon sheet

lead, and a bottle of rum corked and leaded, on the highest part. We descended the mountain with cautious steps, until we came among the low spruces, and the next day at noon we reached our canoes.

It is difficult by any orthography, precisely to express the name of this mountain, and convey the nasal sound which the natives give. No-tar-dn or Ca-ta-din is as near perhaps as the powers of the letters will admit.

The Indians have a superstition respecting this mountain, that an evil spirit, whom they call *Pamola*, inhabits it, at least in the winter, and flies off in the spring with tremendous rumbling noises. They have a tradition, that no person, i. e. native, who has attempted to ascend it, has lived to return. They allege, that many moons ago, seven Indians resolutely ascended the mountain, and that they were never heard of afterwards, having been undoubtedly killed by Pamola in the mountain. The two Indians, whom we hired to pilot and assist us in ascending the mountain, cautioned us not to proceed if we should hear any uncommon noise; and when we came to the cold part of the mountain, they refused to proceed ahead—however, when they found that we were determined to proceed, even without them, they again went forward courageously, and seemed ambitious to be first on the summit. On our return to Indian Old Town, it was with difficulty that we could convince the natives that we had been upon the top of Mount Catardin, nor should we have been able to satisfy them of the fact, so superstitious were they, had it not been for the Indians who had accompanied us.

A LETTER FROM MATTHEW CRADDOCK, TO CAPTAIN JOHN
ENDICOTT.

[APRIL 17, 1629—a letter to Captain John Endicott, of Salem, from the governour and deputy governour of the New England Company, printed in the first volume of Hazard's Collection of State Papers, refers to one written to him, a short time before, by the governour of the company. The following is that letter; and, it is believed, has never been published. It was copied from the first page of the oldest MS. book of records in the secretary's office.]

WORTHY sir and my lovinge freynd, all due commendations premised to yourselfe and second selfe, with harty well wishes from my selfe and many others well-willers and adventurers in this our plantation to yourself and the rest of your good company, of whose safe arrivall being now thoroughlie informed, by your letters bearing date the 13th September last, which came to my hands the 13th this instant February, we doe not a little rejoyce; and to hear that my good cozen, your wyfe, were perfectly recovered of her health would be acceptable newes to us all, which God grant in his good tyme that we may. Meanwhile I am in the behalfe of our whole company (which are much enlarged since your departure out of England) to give you harty thanks for your lardge advice contained in this your letter, which I have fully imparted unto them, and further to give proof that they intende not to be wanting by all good means to forward the plantation, to which purpose, God willing, you shall heare more at another time, and that speedilye, there beinge one shipp bought for the company of 200 tunns, and 2 others hyred of about 200 tunns each of them, 1 of 19 and 1 of 10 peeces of ordnance, besides not unlike but one other vessell shall come in companie with those; in all which ships for the general stock and property of the adventuers, there is likely to be sent thither twixt 2 and 300 persons wee hope to reside there, and about 100 head of cattell, wherefore as I wrote you in *full*, and sent by Mr. Allerton of New Plymouth in November last, soe the desire of them, is that you would endeavour to gett convenient housings fitt to lodge as many as you can against they doe come, and withall what bever or other commodities or fishe, if the means to preserve it can be gotten readie, to return in the foresaid shippes; and likewise wood, if no better ladinge be to be had—That you would endeavour to gett in a readiness what you can whereby our shippes, whereof twoe are to return back directlye heather, may not come wholly emptye. There hath not bine a better tyme for sale of tymber theise twoe seven years than at present and therefore pittie these shippes should come

backe emptye, if it might be made readie that they neede not stope 1 daye for it; otherwise mens wages and victuals, together with the shippes will quicklie rise too high if to be reladen with wood, and that the same be not readie to put a board as soon as the shippes are discharged of their outward ladinge. I wishe alsoe that there be some sassafras and sarsaparilla sent us, as alsoe good store of shoomacke, if there to be had, as we are informed there is; the like do I wishe for, and a tun weight, at least, of silke grasse and of ought else that may be useful for dyinge or in phisicke, to have some of each sent, and advise given withall what store of each to be had there if vent may be found here for it, and alsoe I hope you will have some good sturgeon in a readinesse to send us, and if it be well cured 2 or 300 firkins thereof would helpe well towards our charge. We are very confident of your best endeavours for the general good, and we doubt not but God will in mercye give a blessinge upon our labours, and we trust you will not be unmindful of the mayne end of our plantation by endeavouringe to bringe the Indians to the knowledge of the gospell, which that it may be the speedier and better effected, the earnest desire of our whole company is that you have a diligent and watchful eye over our owne people that they live unblamable and without reproach, and demeane themselves justlye and corteous towards the Indians, thereby to draw them to affect our persons and consequently our religion; as alsoe to endeavour to gett some of their children to trayne up to reading and consequentlie to religion while they are yonge; herein to younge or olde to omit no good opportunitye that may tend to bringe them out of that woe-full state and condition they now are in; in which case our predecessors in this our land sometymes were, and but for the mercye and goodness of our good God might have continued to this day. But God whoe out of the boundless ocean of his mercye hath shewed pittie and compassion to our land, he is all sufficient and can bringe this to pass which we now desire in that countrye likewise. Onlie let us not be wanting on our parts, now wee are called to this work of the Lord; neither, having put

our handes to the plowe, let us look back, but goe on cheerfullye) and depend upon God for a blessing upon our labours, whoe by weake instruments is able (if he see it good) to bringe glorious thinges to passe.

Be of good courage, goe on and do worthilye, and the Lord prosper your endeavour.

It is fullie resolved, by God's assistance, to send over two ministers, at the least, with the shippes now intended to be sent thether. But for Mr. Peters, he is now in Holland, from whence his return hether I hold to be uncertain. Those wee send shall be by the approbation of Mr. White of Dorchester and Mr. Davenport. For whatsoever else you have given advise, care shall be taken, God willinge, to performe the needful as neere as we can and the tymes will permit, whereof alsoe you maye expect more ample advertisement, in their generall letter, when God shall send our shippes thether. The course you have taken, in givinge our countrymen their content in the point of plantinge tobacco there for the present (their necessitie considered) is not disallowed; but wee trust in God other means will be found to employe their tyme more comfortable and profitable alsoe in the end. And wee cannot but generally approve and commend their good resolution to desist from the plantinge thereof when as they shall discerne howe to employe their laboures otherwise, which we hope they will be speedilye induced unto by such precepts and examples as we shall give them. And now mindinge to conclude this, I maye not omit to put you in mynde, however you seeme to feare noe enimies there, yet that you have a watchful eye for your owne safetye, and the safetye of all those of our nation with you; and not to be too confident of the fidelitie of the Salvages. It is an old proverb *yet* as true, the burnt childe dreads the fyre. Our countrymen have suffered by their too much confidence in Virginia. Let us by their harmes learne to beware, and as wee are commanded to be innocent as doves, soe withall wee are enjoined to be wise as serpents. The God of heaven and earth preserve and keepe you from all forayne and inland enimies, and blesse and prosper this plantation to the en-

largement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ; to whose merciful protection I recommend you and all your associates there knowne or unknowne. And so tyll my next, which shall be, God willinge, by our shipps, whoe I make account will be readie to sett sayle from hence about the 20th of this next moneth of Marche, I end and rest,

Your assured loving friende and Cussen
MATTHEW CRADDOCK.

From my house in Swithens Lane neare London stone
this 16th February 1628—9 Stilo Angliæ.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PEQUOT WAR :

Especially of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637. Written by Major John Mason, a principal Actor therein, as then chief Captain and Commander of Connecticut Forces.

With an Introduction and some Explanatory Notes by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince.

PSAL. XLIV. 1—3. *We have heard with our Ears, O God, our Fathers have told us, what Work Thou didst in their Days, in the times of old; How Thou didst drive out the Heathen with thy Hand, and plantedst Them: how Thou did afflict the People and cast them out. For they got not the Land in Possession by their own Sword, neither did their own Arm save them: but thy right Hand, and thine Arm, and the Light of thy Countenance, because Thou hadst a Favour unto them.*

PSAL. CII. 18. *This shall be written for the Generation to come: and the People which shall be Created, shall praise the Lord.*

BOSTON: Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green in Queen Street, 1736.

Introduction.

IN my Contemplations of the Divine Providence towards the People of New-England, I have often tho't what a special Favour it was, that there came over with the first

Settlers of Plimouth and Connecticut Colonies, which in those Times were especially exposed to the superiour Power of the Barbarians round about them ; Two brave Englishmen bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands, viz. Capt. Miles Standish of Plimouth, and Capt. John Mason of Connecticut : Gentlemen of tried Valour, Military Skill and Conduct, great Activity, and warm Zeal for that noble Cause of Pure Scriptural Religion, and Religious Liberty, which were the chief original Design and Interest of the Fathers of these Plantations ; and who were acted with such eminent Degrees of Faith and Piety, as excited them to the most daring Enterprizes in the Cause of God and of his People, and went a great way to their wonderful Successes.

Like those inspired Heroes of whom we read the History in the Eleventh Chapter to the Hebrews—By Faith, they not only rather chose to suffer Affliction with the People of God than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season ; esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures of Egypt : But by Faith they even forsook the same, passed thro' the Sea, subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained Promises, waxed valiant in Fight, and turned to flight the armies of the Aliens.

The Judicious Reader that knows the New English History, cannot think these Scripture Phrases or religious Turns unsuitable on this Occasion : For as these Colonies were chiefly, if not entirely Settled by a Religious People, and for those Religious Purposes ; It is as impossible to write an impartial or true History of them, as of the ancient Israelites, or the later Vaudois or North-Britons, without observing that Religious Spirit and Intention which evidently run through and animate their Historical Transactions.

Capt. Standish was of a low Stature, but of such a daring and active Genius, that even before the Arrival of the Massachusetts Colony, He spread a Terror over all the Tribes of Indians round about him, from the Massachusetts to Martha's Vineyard, and from Cape-Cod Harbour to Narragansett. Capt. Mason was Tall and

Portly, but never the less full of Martial Bravery and Vigour; that He soon became the equal Dread of the more numerous Nations from Narragansett to Hudson's River. They were Both the Instrumental Saviours of this Country in the most critical Conjectures: And as we quietly enjoy the Fruits of their extraordinary Diligence and Valour, both the present and future Generations will for ever be obliged to revere their Memory.

Capt. Mason, the Writer of the following History, in which he was a principal Actor, as Chief Commander of the Connecticut Forces, is said to have been a Relative of Mr. John Mason the ancient Claimer of the Province of New-Hampshire: However, the Captain was one of the first who went up from the Massachusetts about the Year 1635 to lay the Foundation of Connecticut Colony: He went from Dorchester, first settled at Windsor, and thence marched forth to the Pequot War.

But it being above Threescore Years since the following Narrative was Written, near an Hundred since the Events therein related, and the State of the New England Colonies being long since greatly Changed; it seems needful for the present Readers clearer Apprehension of these Matters, to Observe—That in the Year 1633, and 1634, several Englishmen arriving from England, at the Massachusetts, went up in the Western Country to discover Connecticut River; the next Year began to remove thither; and by the Beginning of 1637, Hartford, Windsor and Weathersfield were Settled, besides a Fortification built at Saybrook on the Mouth of the River.

At that Time there were especially three powerful and warlike Nations of Indians in the South Western Parts of New England; which spread all the Country from Aquethneck, since called Rhode Island, to Quinnepiack, since called New-Haven; viz. the Narragansetts, Pequots and Mohegans. The Narragansetts reached from the Bay of the same Name, to Pawcatuck River, now the Boundary between the Governments of Rhode-Island and Connecticut: And their Head Sachem was Miantonimo. The Pequots reached from thence Westward

to Connecticut River, and over it, as far as Branford, if not Quinnepiack; their Head Sachem being Sassacus. And the Mohegans spread along from the Narragansetts through the Inland Country, on the Back or Northerly Side of the Pequots, between them and the Nipmucks; their Head Sachem being Uncas.

The most terrible of all those Nations were then the Pequots; who with their depending Tribes soon entered on a Resolution to Destroy the English out of the Country. In 1634, they killed Capt. Stone and all his Company, being seven besides Himself, in and near his Bark on Connecticut River. In 1635, they killed Capt. Oldham in his Bark at Block-Island; and at Long-Island they killed two more cast away there. In 1636, and the following Winter and March, they killed six and took seven more at Connecticut River: Those they took alive they tortured to Death in a most barbarous Manner. And on April 23. 1637, they killed nine more and carried two young Women Captive at Weathersfield.

They had earnestly solicited the Narragansetts to engage in their Confederacy: very politickly representing to them, That if they should help or suffer the English to subdue the Pequots, they would thereby make Way for their own future Ruin; and that they need not come to open Battle with the English; only Fire our Houses, kill our Cattle, lye in Ambush and shoot us as we went about our Business; so we should be quickly forced to leave this Country, and the Indians not exposed to any great Hazard. Those truly politick Arguments were upon the Point of prevailing on the Narragansetts: And had These with the Mohegans, to whom the Pequots were nearly related, joined against us; they might then, in the infant State of these Colonies, have easily accomplished their desperate Resolutions.

But the Narragansetts being more afraid of the Pequots than of the English; were willing they should weaken each other, not in the least imagining the English could destroy them; at the same time an Agency from the Massachusetts Colony to the Narragansetts, happily Preserved their staggering Friendship. And as

Uncas the Great Sachim of the Moheags, upon the first coming of the English, fell into an intimate Acquaintance with Capt. Mason, He from the Beginning entertained us in an amicable Manner : And though both by his Father and Mother He derived from the Royal Blood of the Pequots, and had Married the Daughter of Tatobam their then late Sachim ; yet such was his Affection for us, as he faithfully adhered to us, ventured his Life in our Service, assisted at the Taking their Fort, when about Seven Hundred of them were Destroyed, and thereupon in subduing and driving out of the Country the remaining greater Part of that fierce and dangerous Nation.

Soon after the War, Capt. Mason was by the Government of Connecticut, made the major General of all their forces, and so continued to the day of his death : The Rev. Mr. Hooker of Hartford, being desired by the Government in their Name to deliver the Staff into his Hand ; We may imagin he did it with that superiour Piety, Spirit and Majesty, which were peculiar to him : Like an ancient Prophet addressing himself to the Military Officer, delivering to him the Principal Ensign of Martial Power, to Lead the Armies and Fight the Battles of the Lord and of his People.

Major Mason having been trained up in the Netherland War under Sir Thomas Fairfax ; when the Struggle arose in England between K. Charles I. and the Parliament about the Royal Powers and the National Liberties ; that Famous General had such an esteem for the Major's Conduct and Bravery, that He wrote to the Major to come over and help Him. But the Major excusing himself, continued in this Country as long as he lived, and had some of the greatest Honours his Colony could yield him.

For besides his Office of Major General, the Colony in May 1660 chose him their Deputy Governour ; continued him in the same Post by annual Re-elections, by virtue of their first Constitution to 1662 inclusively. The same Year K. Charles II. comprehending the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven in One Govern-

ment by the name of Connecticut Colony ; He in the Royal Charter, signed April 23. appointed Major Mason their first Deputy Governour till the second Thursday of October following : After which, the General Court being left to chuse their Officers, they continued to chuse him their Deputy Governour every Year to May 1670 ; when his Age and Bodily Infirmities advancing, he laid down his Office and retired from Publick Business.

After the Pequot War, he had removed from Windsor to Saybrook : But in 1659, he removed thence to Norwich ; where he Died in 1672, or 1673, in the 73d Year of his Age : leaving three sons, viz. Samuel, John and Daniel, to imitate their Fathers Example and inherit his Virtues.

I have only now to observe, that in The Relation of the Troubles which happened to New England by the Indians from 1614 to 1675, Published by the then Mr. Increase Mather in 1677, I find a copy of the following Narrative, but without the Prefaces, had been communicated to him by Mr. John Allyn then the Secretary of Connecticut Colony ; which that Rev. Author took for Mr. Allyn's and calls it his. But we must inform the Reader, that the Narrative was originally drawn by Major Mason. And as his Eldest Grandson Capt. John Mason now of New London has put it into my Hands ; I have been more than usually careful in Correcting the Press according to the Original ; as the most authentick Account of the Pequot War, and as a standing Monument both of the extraordinary Dangers and Courage of our pious Fathers, and of the eminent Appearance of Heaven to save them.

' The other actions of Major Mason must be referred
' to the General History of this country, when some Gentleman of greater Qualifications and Leisure than I may
' claim, shall rise up among us, to undertake it. I shall
' give some Hints in my Brief Chronology ; which
' through numerous Hindrances, is now in such a Forwardness that near 200 Pages are Printed already ; and
' in a little Time, Life and Health allowed, I hope to present the Publick with the first of the two intended Vol-

'umes. In the mean while I cannot but Regret it, that
'such considerable and ancient Towns as Saybrook,
'Fairfield, Stamford, Canterbury, Groton in the County
'of Middlesex, Chelmsford, Billerica, Woburn, Dun-
'stable and Bristol, should afford no more than their
'bare Names in the Published Records of this Country.

THOMAS PRINCE.

BOSTON, Dec. 23, 1735.

To The Honourable The General Court of Connecticut.

Honoured Gentlemen,

You well know how often I have been requested by yourselves to write something in reference to the Subject of the ensuing Treatise (who have power to Command) and how backward I have been, as being conscious to my own unfitness; accounting it not so proper, I being a Chief Actor therein myself. Yet considering that little hath been done to keep the memory of such a special Providence alive, though I could heartily have wished that some other who had been less interested and better qualified might have undertaken the Task, for I am not unacquainted with my own Weakness; yet I shall endeavour in plainness and faithfulness impartially to declare the Matter, not taking the Crown from the Head of one and putting it upon another. There are several who have Wrote and also Printed at random on this Subject, greatly missing the Mark in many Things as I conceive. I shall not exempt my self from frailties, yet from material Faults I presume you may pronounce it not Guilty, and do assure you that if I should see or by any be convinced of an Error, I shall at once confess and amend it.

I thought it my Duty in the Entrance to relate the first Grounds upon which the English took up Arms against the Pequots; for the Beginning is the Moiety of the Whole; and not to mention some Passages at Rovers, as others have done, and not demonstrate the Cause. Judge of me as you please; I shall not climb after Applause, nor do I much fear a Censure; there being many

Testimonies to what I shall say. 'Tis possible some may think no better can be expected in these distracting Times; it being so hard to please a few, impossible to please all: I shall therefore content myself that I have attended my rule: You may please to improve some others who were Actors in the Service to give in their Apprehensions, that so the severals being compared, you may enlarge or diminish as you shall see meet. I desire my Name may be sparingly mentioned: My principal Aim is that God may have his due praise.

By your unworthy Servant,
JOHN MASON.

To The American Reader,

Judicious Reader,

ALTHOUGH it be too true indeed that the Press labours under, and the World doth too much abound with pamphletting Papers; yet know that this Piece cannot or at least ought not to be disaccepted by thee; For by the help of this thou mayest look backward and interpret how God hath been working, and that very wonderfully for thy Safety and Comfort: And it being the Lord's doing, it should be marvellous in thine Eyes.

And when thou shalt have viewed over this Paper, thou wilt say the Printers of this Edition have done well to prevent the possible Imputation of Posterity; in that they have consulted the exhibition at least to the American World, of the remarkable Providencies of God, which thou mayest at thy leisure read, consider and affect thy self with, in the Sequel.

History most properly is a Declaration of Things that are done by those that were present at the doing of them: Therefore this here presented to thee may in that respect plead for liking and acceptance with thee: The Historiographer being one of the principal Actors, by whom those English Engagements were under God carried on and so successfully effected. And for a President for him in this his Publication of his own, in Parte Rei Bel-



licæ, he hath that great Man at arms the first of the noble Cæsars, being the Manager and Inditer of his martial Exploits.

He has also that necessary Ingredient in an Historian ; Ut nequid falsi dicere, et nequid veri non dicere audeat ; That he will tell the Truth and will not say a jot of Falshood.

And Memorandum that those divine Over-rulings, their Recollection, as they ought to be Quickeners of us up to a Theological Reformation, and Awakeners of us from a lethargilike Security, least the Lord should yet again make them more afflicting Thorns in our Eyes and slashing Scourges in our Sides ; so also they may well be Pledges or Earnests to us of his future saving Mercies ; and that if we by our Declensions from him in his ways do not provoke him, he will not forsake us, but have respect to us in our Dwellings, and lend us the desirable Providence of his perpetual Salvation.

N. B. This Epistle to the American Reader appears to have been written by another Hand than Major Mason's.

To The Judicious Reader.

Gentlemen,

I NEVER had thought that this should have come to the Press, until of late : If I had, I should have endeavoured to have put a little more Varnish upon it : But being overperswaded by some Friends, I thought it not altogether amiss to present it to your courteous Disposition, hoping it might find your favourable Entertainment and Acceptance, though rude and impolished. I wish it had fallen into some better Hands that might have performed it to the life ; I shall only draw the Curtain and open my little Casement, that so others of larger Hearts and Abilities may let in a bigger Light ; that so at least some small Glimmering may be left to Posterity what Difficulties and Obstructions their Forefathers met with in their first settling these desart Parts of America ; how God was pleased to prove them, and how by his wise Providence he

ordered and disposed all their Occasions and Affairs for them in regard to both their Civils and Ecclesiasticals.

This with some other Reasons have been Motives to excite me to the enterprizing hereof ; no man that I know of having as yet undertaken to write a general History or Relation ; so that there is no Commemoration of Matters respecting this War ; how they began, how carryed on, and continued, nor what Success they had.* They which think the mentioning of some Particulars is sufficient for the understanding of the General, in my Opinion stray no less from the Truth, than if by the separated Parts of a living Man one should think by this Means he knew all the Parts and Perfections of the Creature : But these separated Parts being joyned together having Form and Life, one might easily discern that he was deceived.

If the Beginning be but obscure, and the Ground uncertain, its Continuance can hardly perswade to purchase belief : Or if Truth be wanting in History, it proves but a fruitless Discourse.

I shall therefore, God helping, endeavour not so much to stir up the Affections of Men, as to declare in Truth and Plainness the Actions and Doings of Men ; I shall therefore set down Matter in order as they Began and were carried on and Issued ; that so I may not deceive the Reader in confounding of Things, but the Discourse may be both Plain and Easy.

And although some may think they have Wrote in a high Stile, and done some notable Thing, yet in my Opinion they have not spoken truly in some Particulars, and in general to little Purpose : For how can History find Credit, if in the Beginning you do not deliver plainly and clearly from whence and how you do come to the Relation which you presently intend to make of Actions ?

As a Rule, although it hath less length and breadth, yet notwithstanding it retains the Name if it hath that which is proper to a Rule. When the Bones are Separated from a living Creature, it becomes unserviceable :

* The Author Died before the Reverend Mr. William Hubbard and Mr. Increase Mather Published their accounts of the Pequot War.

So a History, if you take away Order and Truth, the rest will prove to be but a vain Narration.

I shall not make a long Discourse, nor labour to hold the Reader in doubt, using a multitude of Words, which is no sure Way to find out the Truth ; as if one should seek for Verity in the Current of Pratling, having nothing but a conceit worthy to hold the Reader in suspence : (Sed quo vado) In a word, the Lord was as it were pleased to say unto us, The Land of Canaan will I give unto thee though but few and Strangers in it : And when we went from one Nation to another, yea from one Kingdom to another, he suffered no Man to do us Wrong, but reprov'd Kings for our sakes : And so through Mercy at length we were settled in Peace, to the Astonishment of all that were round about us : unto whom he ascribed all Glory and Praise for ever and ever.

Farewell

JOHN MASON.

Norwich, in New England, in America.

Some Grounds of the War Against the Pequots.

ABOUT the Year 1632 one Capt. Stone arrived in the Massachusetts in a Ship from Virginia ; who shortly after was bound for Virginia again in a small Bark with one Capt. Norton ; who sailing into Connecticut River about two Leagues from the Entrance cast Anchor ; there coming to them several Indians belonging to that Place whom the Pequots Tyrannized over, being a potent and warlike People, it being their Custom so to deal with their neighbour Indians ; Capt. Stone having some occasion with the Dutch who lived at a trading House near twenty Leagues up the River, procured some of those Indians to go as Pilots with two of his Men to the Dutch : But being benighted before they could come to their desired Port, put the skiff in which they went, ashcar, where the two Englishmen falling asleep, were both Murdered by their Indian Guides : There remaining with the Bark about twelve of the aforesaid Indians ; who had in all

probability formerly plotted their bloody Design ; and waiting an opportunity when some of the English were on Shoar and Capt. Stone asleep in his Cabbin, set upon them and cruelly Murdered every one of them, plundered what they pleased and sunk the Bark.

These Indians were not native Pequots, but had frequent recourse unto them, to whom they tendered some of those Goods, which were accepted by the Chief Sachem of the Pequots : Other of the said Goods were tendered to Nynigrett Sachem of Nayanticke, who also received them.

The Council of the Massachusetts being informed of their Proceedings, sent to speak with the Pequots, and had some Treaties with them : But being unsatisfied therewith, sent forth Captain John Endicot Commander in Chief, with Captain Underhill, Captain Turner, and with them one hundred and twenty Men : who were firstly designed on a Service against a People living on Block Island, who were subject to the Narragansett Sachem ; they having taken a Bark of one Mr. John Oldham, Murdering him and all his Company : They were also to call the Pequots to an Account about the Murder of Capt. Stone ; who arriving at Pequot had some Conference with them ; but little effected ; only one Indian slain and some Wigwams burnt. After which, the Pequots grew iraged against the English who inhabited Connecticut, being but a small Number, about two hundred and fifty, who were there newly arrived ; as also about twenty Men at Saybrook, under the Command of Lieutenant Lyon Gardner, who was there settled by several Lords and Gentlemen in England. The Pequots falling violently upon them, slew divers Men at Saybrook ; keeping almost a constant Siege upon the Place ; so that the English were constrained to keep within their pallizado Fort ; being so hard Beset and sometimes Assaulted, that Capt. John Mason was sent by Connecticut Colony with twenty Men out of their small Numbers to secure the Place : But after his coming, there did not one Pequot appear in view for one Month Space, which was the time he there remained.

In the Interim certain Pequots about One Hundred going to a Place called Weathersfield on Connecticut ; having formerly confederated with the Indians of that Place (as it was generally thought) lay in Ambush for the English ; divers of them going into a large Field adjoyning to the Town to their Labour, were there set upon by the Indians : Nine of the English were killed outright, with some Horses, and two young Women taken Captives.

At their Return from Weathersfield, they came down the River of Connecticut (Capt. Mason being then at Saybrook Fort) in three Canoes with about one hundred Men, which River of necessity they must pass : We espying them, concluded they had been acting some Mischief against us, made a Shot at them with a Piece of Ordnance, which beat off the Beak Head of one of their Canoes, wherein our two Captives were : it was at a very great distance : They then hastened, drew their Canoes over a narrow Beach with all speed and so got away.

Upon which the English were somewhat dejected : But immediately upon this, a Court was called and met in Hartford the First of May 1637,* who seriously considering their Condition, which did look very Sad, for those Pequots were a great People, being strongly fortified, cruel, warlike, munitioned, &c. and the English but an handful in comparison : But their outrageous Violence against the English, having Murdered about Thirty of them, their great Pride and Insolency, constant pursuit in their malicious Courses, with their engaging other Indians in their Quarrel against the English, who had never offered them the least Wrong ; who had in all likelihood Espoused all the Indians in the Country in their Quarrel, had not God by more than an ordinary Providence prevented : These Things being duly considered, with the eminent Hazard and great Peril they were in ; it pleased God so to stir up the Hearts of all Men in general, and the Court in special, that they concluded some Forces should forthwith be sent out against the Pequots ; their Grounds being Just, and necessity enforcing them

* May 1. 1637 was Monday.

to engage in an offensive and defensive War ; the Management of which War we are nextly to relate.

An Epitome or brief History of the Pequot War.

IN the Beginning of May 1637 there were sent out by Connecticut Colony Ninety Men under the Command of Capt. John Mason against the Pequots, with Onkos an Indian Sachem living at Mohegan,* who was newly revolted from the Pequots ; being Shipped in one Pink, one Pinnace, and one Shallop ; who sailing down the River of Connecticut fell several times a ground, the Water being very low : The Indians not being wonted to such Things with their small Canoes, and also being impatient of Delays, desired they might be set on Shoar, promising that they would meet us at Saybrook ; which we granted : They hastening to their Quarters, fell upon Thirty or forty of the Enemy near Saybrook Fort, and killed seven of them outright ; † having only one of their's wounded, who was sent back to Connecticut in a Skiff : Capt. John Underhill also coming with him, who informed us what was performed by Onkos and his Men ; which we looked at as a special Providence ; for before we were somewhat doubtful of his Fidelity : Capt. Underhill then offered his Service with nineteen Men to go with us, if Lieutenant Gardner would allow of it, who was Chief Commander at Saybrook Fort ; which was readily approved of by Lieutenant Gardner and accepted by us ; In lieu of them we sent back twenty of our Soldiers to Connecticut.

Upon a Wednesday we arrived at Saybrook, where we lay Windbound until Friday ; often consulting how and in what manner we should proceed in our Enterprize, being altogether ignorant of the Country. At length we concluded, God assisting us, for Narragansett, and so to

* Onkos ; usually called Uncas, the Great Sachem of the Moheags.

† Mr. Increase Mather in his History of the Pequot War, says this was on May 15.

March through their Country, which Bordered upon the Enemy ; where lived a great People, it being about fifteen Leagues beyond Pequot ; The Grounds and Reasons of our so Acting you shall presently understand :

‘ First, The Pequots our Enemies, kept a continual Guard upon the River Night and Day.

‘ Secondly, their Numbers far exceeded ours ; having sixteen Guns with Powder and Shot, as we were informed by the two Captives forementioned (where we declared the Grounds of this War) who were taken by the Dutch and restored to us at Saybrook ; which indeed was a very friendly Office and not to be forgotten.

‘ Thirdly, They were on Land, and being swift on Foot, might much impede our Landing, and possibly dishearten our Men ; we being expected only by Land, there being no other Place to go on Shoar but in that River, nearer than Narragansett.

‘ Fourthly, By Narragansett we should come upon their Backs, and possibly might surprize them unawares, at worst we should be on firm Land as well as they.’ All which proved very successful as the Sequel may evidently demonstrate.

But yet for all this our Counsel, all of them except the Captain, were at a stand, and could not judge it meet to sail to Narragansett : And indeed there was a very strong Ground for it ; our Commission limiting us to land our Men in Pequot River ; we had also the same Order by a Letter of Instruction sent us to Saybrook.

But Capt. Mason apprehending an exceeding great Hazard in so doing, for the Reasons forementioned, as also some other which I shall forbear to trouble you with, did therefore earnestly desire Mr. Stone that he would commend our Condition to the Lord, that Night, to direct how and in what manner we should demean ourselves in that Respect : He being our Chaplin and lying aboard our Pink, the Captain on Shoar. In the Morning very early Mr. Stone came ashoar to the Captain’s Chamber, and told him, he had done as he had desired, and was fully satisfied to sail for Narragansett. Our Council was then called, and the several Reasons alledged : In

fine we all agreed with one accord to sail for Narragansett, which the next Morning we put in Execution.

I declare not this to encourage any Soldiers to Act beyond their Commission, or contrary to it ; for in so doing they run a double Hazard. There was a great Commander in Belgia who did the States great Service in taking a City ; but by going beyond his Commission lost his Life : His name was Grubbendunk. But if a War be Managed duly by Judgment and Discretion as is requisite, the Shews are many times contrary to what they seem to pursue : Whereof the more an Enterprize is dissembled and kept secret, the more facil to put in Execution ; as the Proverb, The farthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home. I shall make bold to present this as my present Thoughts in this Case ; In Matters of War, those who are both able and faithful should be improved ; and then bind them not up into too narrow a Compass : For it is not possible for the wisest and ablest Senator to foresee all Accidents and Occurrents that fall out in the Management and Pursuit of a War : Nay although possibly he might be trained up in Military Affairs ; and truly much less can he have any great Knowledge who hath had but little Experience therein. What shall I say ? God led his People through many Difficulties and Turnings ; yet by more than an ordinary Hand of Providence he brought them to Canaan at last.

On Friday Morning we set Sail for Narragansett-Bay, and on Saturday towards Evening we arrived at our desired Port, there we kept the Sabbath.

On the Monday the Wind blew so hard at North-West that we could not go on Shoar ; as also on the Tuesday until Sun set ; at which time Capt. Mason landed and Marched up to the Place of the Chief Sachem's Residence ; who told the Sachem, ' That we had not an opportunity to acquaint him with our coming Armed in his Country sooner ; yet not doubting but it would be well accepted by him, there being Love betwixt himself and us ; well knowing also that the Pequots and themselves were Enemies, and that he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable Wrongs and Injuries

‘these Pequots had lately done unto the English ; and
‘that we were now come, God assisting, to Avenge our
‘selves upon them ; and that we did only desire free Pas-
‘sage through his Country.’ Who returned us this An-
swer, ‘That he did accept of our coming, and did also
‘approve of our Design ; only he thought our Numbers
‘were too weak to deal with the Enemy, who were (as
‘he said) very great Captains and Men skilful in War.’
Thus he spake somewhat slighting of us.

On the Wednesday Morning, we Marched from thence
to a Place called Nayanticke, it being about eighteen or
twenty miles distant, where another of those Narragansett
Sachems lived in a Fort ; it being a Frontier to the Pe-
quots. They carryed very proudly towards us ; not per-
mitting any of us to come into their Fort.

We beholding their Carriage and the Falsehood of In-
dians, and fearing least they might discover us to the En-
emy, especially they having many times some of their
near Relations among their greatest Foes ; we therefore
caused a strong Guard to be set about their Fort, giving
Charge that no Indian should be suffered to pass in or
out : We also informed the Indians, that none of them
should stir out of the Fort upon peril of their Lives :
so as they would not suffer any of us to come into their
Fort, so we would not suffer any of them to go out of
the Fort.

There we quartered that Night, the Indians not offer-
ing to stir out all the while.

In the Morning there came to us several of Miantomo*
his Men, who told us, they were come to assist us in our
Expedition, which encouraged divers Indians of that
Place to Engage also ; who suddenly gathering into a
Ring, one by one, making solemn Protestations how gal-
liantly they would demean themselves, and how many
Men they would Kill.

On the Thursday about eight of the Clock in the
Morning, we Marched thence towards Pequot, with
about five hundred Indians : But through the Heat of the

* He was usually called Miantonimo the Great Sachem of the Narragansett
Indians.

Weather and want of Provisions some of our Men fainted : And having Marched about twelve Miles, we came to Pawcatuck River, at a Ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually Fish ; there making an Alta, we stayed some small time : The Narragansett Indians manifesting great Fear, in so much that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us, saying, That we durst not look upon a Pequot, but themselves would perform great Things ; though we had often told them that we came on purpose and were resolved, God assisting, to see the Pequots, and to fight with them, before we returned, though we perished. I then enquired of Onkos, what he thought the Indians would do ? Who said, The Narragansetts would all leave us, but as for Himself He would never leave us : and so it proved : For which Expressions and some other Speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great Friend, and did great Service.

And after we had refreshed our selves with our mean Commons, we Marched about three Miles, and came to a Field which had lately been planted with Indian Corn : There we made another Alt, and called our Council, supposing we drew near to the Enemy : and being informed by the Indians that the Enemy had two Forts almost impregnable ; but we were not at all Discouraged, but rather Animated, in so much that we were resolved to Assault both their Forts at once. But understanding that one of them was so remote that we could not come up with it before Midnight, though we Marched hard ; whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest Sachem there resided, whose name was Sassacous : We were then constrained, being exceedingly spent in our March with extream Heat and want of Necessaries, to accept of the nearest.

We then Marching on in a silent Manner, the Indians that remained fell all into the Rear, who formerly kept the Van ; (being possessed with great Fear) we continued our March till about one Hour in the Night : and coming to a little Swamp between two Hills, there we pitched our little Camp ; much wearied with hard

Travel, keeping great Silence, supposing we were very near the Fort; as our Indians informed us; which proved otherwise: The Rocks were our Pillows; yet Rest was pleasant: The Night proved Comfortable, being clear and Moon Light: We appointed our Guards and placed our Sentinels at some distance; who heard the Enemy Singing at the Fort, who continued that Strain until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing, as we were afterwards informed: They seeing our Pinnaces sail by them some Days before, concluded we were afraid of them and durst not come near them; the Burthen of their Song tending to that purpose.

In the Morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day; rowed the Men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to God, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the Indians shewing us a Path, told us that it led directly to the Fort. We held on our March about two Miles, wondering that we came not to the Fort, and fearing we might be deluded: But seeing Corn newly planted at the Foot of a great Hill, supposing the Fort was not far off, a Champion Country being round about us; then making a stand, gave the Word for some of the Indians to come up: At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared; We demanded of them, Where was the Fort? They answered On the Top of that Hill: Then we demanded, Where were the Rest of the Indians? They answered, Behind, exceedingly afraid: We wished them to tell the rest of their Fellows, That they should by no means Fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether English Men would now Fight or not. Then Capt. Underhill came up, who Marched in the Rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided our Men: There being two Entrances into the Fort, intending to enter both at once: Captain Mason leading up to that on the North East Side; who approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an Indian crying Owanux! Owanux! which is Englishmen! Englishmen! We called up our

Forces with all expedition, gave Fire upon them through the Pallizado ; the Indians being in a dead indeed their last Sleep : Then we wheeling off fell upon the main Entrance, which was blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over which the Captain passed, intending to make good the Entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavoured to enter ; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes and so entred, and with him about sixteen Men : We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entred a Wigwam ; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entred ; but in his Entrance fell over a dead Indian ; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their Beds : The Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many Indians in the Lane or Street ; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others ; where seven of them were Slain, as they said. The Captain facing about, Marched a slow Pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath ; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entred, saw two Soldiers standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground : The Captain told them that We should never kill them after that manner : The Captain also said, We must Burn them ; and immediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, brought out a Firebrand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up ; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us

and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the Fort was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the Fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

The Fire was kindled on the North East Side to windward; which did swiftly over-run the Fort, to the extream Amazement of the Enemy, and great Rejoycing of our selves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Pallizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows; and we repayed them with our small Shot: Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the Number of Forty, who perished by the Sword.

What I have formerly said, is according to my own Knowledge, there being sufficient living Testimony to every Particular.

But in reference to Captain Underhill and his Parties acting in this Assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the Fight, Thus They Marching up to the Entrance on the South West Side, there made some Pause; a valiant, resolute Gentleman, one Mr. Hedge, stepping towards the Gate, saying, If we may not Enter, wherefore came we here; and immediately endeavoured to Enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his Entrance; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. Hedge Entred the Fort with some others; but the Fort being on Fire, the Smoak and Flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the Fort.

Thus were they now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatning and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the English, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But God was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the

Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands : Thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies !

And here we may see the just Judgment of God, in sending even the very Night before this Assault, One hundred and fifty Men from their other Fort, to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them, where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate : They were taken in their own snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one Hour's space was their impregnable Fort with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of six or seven Hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.*

Of the English, there were two Slain outright, and about twenty Wounded : Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning, and the want of such Comforts and Necessaries as were needful in such a Case ; especially our Chyrurgeon was much wanting, whom we left with our Barks in Narragansett Bay, who had Order there to remain until the Night before our intended Assault.

And thereupon grew many Difficulties : Our Provision and Munition near spent ; we in the enemies Country, who did far exceed us in Number, being much enraged : all our Indians, except Onkos, deserting us ; our Pinnaces at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

But as we were consulting what Course to take, it pleased God to discover our Vessels to us before a fair Gale of Wind, sailing into Pequot Harbour, to our great Rejoycing.

We had no sooner discovered our Vessels, but imme-

* The place of the Fort being called Mistick, this Fight was called Mistick Fight : And Mr. Increase Mather, from a Manuscript he met with, tells us ; It was on Friday, May 26. 1637, a memorable Day !

diately came up the Enemy from the other Fort ; Three Hundred or more as we conceived. The Captain lead out a file or two of Men to Skirmish with them, chiefly to try what temper they were of, who put them to a stand : we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to March towards our Vessels : Four or Five of our Men were so wounded that they must be carried with the Arms of twenty more. We also being faint, were constrained to put four to one Man, with the Arms of the rest that were wounded to others ; so that we had not above forty Men free : at length we hired several Indians, who eased us of that Burthen, in carrying of our wounded Men. And Marching about one quarter of a Mile ; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the Fort was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads : And after a little space, came mounting down the Hill upon us, in a full career, as if they would over run us ; But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them : Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary : Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random. There was at the Foot of the Hill a small Brook, where we rested and refreshed our selves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.

We then Marched on towards Pequot Harbour ; and falling upon several Wigwams, burnt them : The Enemy still following us in the Rear, which was to windward, though to little purpose ; yet some of them lay in Ambush behind Rocks and Trees, often shooting at us, yet through Mercy touched not one of us ; And as we came to any Swamp or Thicket, we made some Shot to clear the Passage. Some of them fell with our Shot ; and probably more might, but for want of Munition : But when any of them fell, our Indians would give a great Shout, and then would they take so much Courage as to fetch their Heads. And thus we continued, until we came within two Miles of Pequot Harbour ; where the Enemy gathered together and left us ; we Marching on to the Top of an Hill adjoining to the

Harbour, with our Colours flying; having left our Drum at the Place of our Rendezvous the Night before: We seeing our Vessels there Riding at Anchor, to our great Rejoycing, and came to the Water-Side, we there sat down in Quiet.

Captain Patrick being Arrived there with our Vessels, who as we were informed was sent with Forty Men by the Massachusetts Colony, upon some Service against the Block Islanders; Who coming to the Shore in our Shallop with all his Company, as he said to Rescue us, supposing we were pursued, though there did not appear any the least sign of such a Thing.

But we could not prevail with Him by any Means to put his Men ashore, that so we might carry our Wounded Men a Board; although it was our own Boat in which he was: We were very much Troubled; but knew not how to help our selves. At length we were fetched a Board to the great Rejoycing of our Friends.

Shorty after our coming a Board, there fell out a great Contest between Captain Underhill and Capt. Patrick: Captain Underhill claiming an Interest in the Bark where Captain Patrick was, which indeed was Underhill's Right; The Contest grew to a great Height. At length we propounded, that if Patrick would Ride there with that Bark in Contention, and secure the Narragansett Indians, it being also the Place of Rendezvous to those Vessels that were expected from Massachuset, until we Transported our Wounded Men to Saybrook five Leagues distant; then we would immediately return our Pink to convey the Narragansetts home: The which Captain Patrick seemed very readily to accept.

Capt. Underhill soon after set sail in one of our Barks for Saybrook: But before he was out of Sight; Captain Patrick signified by Writing, that he could not attend that Service, but he must wait for the Bay Vessels at Saybrook, wishing us, having the Honour of that Service to compleat it, by securing the Narragansett Indians; which at first seemed very Difficult, if not Impossible: For our Pink could not receive them, and to march by Land was very Dangerous; it being near twenty Miles

in the Enemies Country, our Numbers being much weakened, we were then about twenty Men ; the rest we had sent home for fear of the Pequots Invasion. But absolutely necessitated to March by Land, we hasted ashore, with our Indians and small Numbers. Captain Patrick seeing what we intended, came ashore also with his Men ; although in truth we did not desire or delight in his Company, and so we plainly told him : However he would and did March a long with us.

About the midway between that and Saybrook, we fell upon a People called Nayanticks, belonging to the Pequots, who fled to a Swamp for Refuge : They hearing or espying of us, fled : we pursued them a while by the Track as long as they kept together : But being much spent with former Travel, and the Sabbath drawing on, it being about Two or Three of the Clock on the Saturday in the Afternoon ; we leaving our Pursuit, hasted towards Saybrook, about Sun set we Arrived at Connecticut River Side ; being nobly Entertained by Lieutenant Gardner with many great Guns : But were forced there to Quarter that Night : On the Morrow we were all fetched over to Saybrook, receiving many Courtesies from Lieut. Gardner.

And when we had taken Order for the safe Conduct of the Narragansett Indians, we repaired to the Place of our Abode : where we were Entertained with great Triumph and Rejoycing and Praising God for his Goodness to us, in succeeding our weak Endeavours, in Crowning us with Success, and restoring of us with so little Loss. Thus was God seen in the Mount, Crushing his proud Enemies and the Enemies of his People : They who were ere while a Terror to all that were round about them, who resolved to Destroy all the English and to Root their very Name out of this Country, should by such weak Means, even Seventy seven (there being no more at the Fort) bring the Mischief they plotted, and the Violence they offered and exercised, upon their own Heads in a Moment : burning them up in the fire of his Wrath, and dunging the Ground with their Flesh : It was the Lord's Doings, and it is marvellous in our Eyes ! It is He

that hath made his Work wonderful, and therefore ought to be remembred.

Immediately the whole Body of Pequots repaired to that Fort where Sassacous the Chief Sachem did reside ; charging him that he was the only Cause of all the Troubles that had befallen them ; and therefore they would Destroy both him and his : But by the Intreaty of their Counsellors they spared his Life ; and consulting what Course to take, concluded there was no abiding any longer in their Country, and so resolved to fly into several Parts. The greatest Body of them went towards Manhatance :* And passing over Connecticut, they met with three English Men in a Shallop going for Saybrook, whom they slew : The English Fought very stoutly, as themselves confessed, Wounding many of the Enemy.

About a Fortnight after our Return home, which was about one Month after the Fight at Mistick, there Arrived in Pequot River several Vessels from the Massachusetts, Captain Israel Stoughton being Commander in Chief ; and with him about One hundred and twenty Men ; being sent by that Colony to pursue the War against the Pequots : The Enemy being all fled before they came, except some few Straglers, who were surprised by the Moheags and others of the Indians, and by them delivered to the Massachusetts Soldiers.

Connecticut Colony being informed hereof, sent forthwith forty Men, Captain Mason being Chief Commander ; with some other Gent, to meet those of the Massachusetts, to consider what was necessary to be attended respecting the future : Who meeting with them of the Massachusetts in Pequot Harbour ; after some time of consultation, concluded to pursue those Pequots that were fled towards Manhatance, and so forthwith Marched after them, discovering several Places where they Rendezvoused and lodged not far distant from their several Removes ; making but little haste, by reason of their Children, and want of Provision ; being forced to dig for

* I suppose this the same which is sometimes called Manhatan or Manhatoes ; which is since called New York.

Clams, and to procure such other things as the Wilderness afforded : Our Vessels sailing along by the Shore. In about the space of three Days we all Arrived at New Haven Harbour, then called Quinnypiag. And seeing a great Smoak in the Woods not far distant, we supposing some of the Pequots our Enemies might be there ; we hastened ashore, but quickly discovered them to be Connecticut Indians. Then we returned aboard our Vessels, where we stayed some short time, having sent a Pequot Captive upon discovery, we named him Luz ; who brought us Tydings of the Enemy, which proved true : so faithful was he to us, though against his own Nation. Such was the Terror of the English upon them ; that a Moheage Indian named Jack Eatow going ashore at that time, met with three Pequots, took two of them and brought them aboard.

We then hastened our march towards the Place where the Enemy was : And coming into a Corn Field, several of the English espyed some Indians, who fled from them : They pursued them ; and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several Wigwams just opposite, only a Swamp intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts. Sergeant Palmer hastening with about twelve Men who were under his Command to surround the smaller Part of the Swamp, that so He might prevent the Indians flying ; Ensign Danport,* Sergeant Jeffries &c, entering the Swamp, intended to have gone to the Wigwams, were there set upon by several Indians, who in all probability were deterred by Sergeant Palmer. In this Skirmish the English slew but few ; two or three of themselves were Wounded : The rest of the English coming up, the Swamp was surrounded.

Our Council being called, and the Question propounded, How we should proceed, Captain Patrick advised that we should cut down the Swamp ; there being many Indian Hatchets taken, Captain Traske concurring with him ; but was opposed by others : Then we must pallizado the Swamp ; which was also opposed : Then they would have

* It should be Davenport, who was afterwards Captain of the Castle in Boston Harbour.

a Hedge made like those of Gotham ; all which was judged by some almost impossible, and to no purpose, and that for several Reasons, and therefore strongly opposed. But some others advised to force the Swamp, having time enough, it being about three of the Clock in the Afternoon : But that being opposed, it was then propounded to draw up our Men close to the Swamp, which would much have lessened the Circumference ; and with all to fill up the open Passages with Bushes, that so we might secure them until the Morning, and then we might consider further about it. But neither of these would pass ; so different were our Apprehensions ; which was very grievous to some of us, who concluded the Indians would make an Escape in the Night, as easily they might and did : We keeping at a great distance, what bet er could be expected ? Yet Captain Mason took Order that the Narrow in the Swamp should be cut through ; which did much shorten our Leaguer. It was resolutely performed by Serjeant Davis.

We being loth to destroy Women and Children, as also the Indians belonging to that Place ; whereupon Mr. Tho. Stanton a Man well acquainted with Indian Language and Manners, offered his Service to go into the Swamp and treat with them : To which we were somewhat backward, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto : But his importunity prevailed : Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near Two Hundred old Men, Women and Children ; who delivered themselves, to the Mercy of the English. And so Night drawing on, we beleaguered them as strongly as we could. About half an Hour before Day, the Indians that were in the Swamp attempted to break through Captain Patrick's Quarters ; but were beaten back several times ; they making a great Noise, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer : Whereupon Captain Mason sent Sergeant Stares to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required ; Capt. Traske coming also in to their Assistance : But the Tumult growing to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege ; and Marching up to the Place, at a

Turning of the Swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us ; but we sent them back by our small Shot.

We waiting a little for a second Attempt ; the Indians in the mean time facing about, pressed violently upon Captain Patrick, breaking through his Quarters, and so escaped. They were about sixty or seventy as we were informed. We afterwards searched the Swamp, and found but few Slain. The Captives we took were about One Hundred and Eighty ; whom we divided, intending to keep them as Servants, but they could not endure that Yoke ; few of them continuing any considerable time with their masters.

Thus did the Lord scatter his Enemies with his strong Arm ! The Pequots now became a Prey to all Indians. Happy were they that could bring in their Heads to the English : Of which there came almost daily to Winsor, or Hartford. But the Pequots growing weary hereof, sent some of the Chief that survived to mediate with the English ; offering that If they might but enjoy their Lives, they would become the English Vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased Which was granted them. Whereupon Onkos and Myantonimo were sent for ; who with the Pequots met at Hartford. The Pequots being demanded, how many of them were then living ? Answered, about One Hundred and Eighty, or two Hundred. There were then given to Onkos, Sachem of Monheag ; Eighty ; to Myantonimo, Sachem of Narragansett, Eighty ; and to Nynigrett,* Twenty, when he should satisfy for a Mare of Edward Pomroye's killed by his Men. The Pequots were then bound by Covenant, That none should inhabit their native Country, nor should any of them be called Pequots any more, but Moheags and Narragansetts forever. Shortly after, about Forty of them went to Moheag ; others went to Long Island ; the rest settled at Pawcatuck, a Place in Pequot Country, contrary to their late Covenant and Agreement with the English.

Which Connecticut taking into Consideration, and well weighing the several Inconveniences that might ensue ;

* He was usually called Ninnicraft.

for the Prevention whēreof, they sent out forty Men under the command of Captain John Mason, to supplant them, by burning their Wigwams, and bringing away their Corn, except they would desert the Place : Onkos with about One Hundred of his Men in twenty Canoes, going also to assist in the Service. As we sailed into Pawcatuck-Bay We met with three of those Indians, whom we sent to inform the rest with the end of our coming, and also that we desired to speak with some of them : They promised speedily to return us an Answer, but never came to us more.

We run our Vessel up into a small River, and by reason of Flatts were forced to land on the West Side ; their Wigwams being on the East just opposite, where we could see the Indians running up and down Jeering of us. But we meeting with a narrow place in the River between two rocks, drew up our Indians Canoes, and got suddenly over sooner than we were expected or desired ; Marching immediately up to their Wigwams ; the Indians being all fled, except some old People that could not.

We were so suddenly upon them that they had not time to convey away their Goods : We viewed their Corn, whereof there was Plenty, it being their time of Harvest : And coming down to the Water Side to our Pinnacle with half of Onkos's his Men, the rest being plundering the Wigwams ; we looking towards a Hill not far remote, we espyed about sixty Indians running towards us ; we supposing they were our absent Men, the Moheags that were with us not speaking one word, nor moving towards them until the other came within thirty or forty paces of them ; then they run and met them and fell on pell mell striking and cutting with Bows, Hatchets, Knives, &c. after their feeble Manner : Indeed it did hardly deserve the Name of Fighting. We then endeavoured to get between them and the Woods, that so we might prevent their flying ; which they perceiving, endeavoured speedily to get off under the beach : we made no Shot at them, nor any hostile Attempt upon them. Only seven of them who were Nynigrett's Men, were

taken. Some of them growing very outrageous, whom we intended to have made shorter by the Head ; and being about to put it in Execution ; one Otash a Sachem of Narragansett, Brother to Myantonimo stepping forth, told the Captain, They were his Brother's Men, and that he was a Friend to the English, and if he would spare their Lives we should have as many Murderer's Heads in lieu of them which should be delivered to the English. We considering that there was no Blood shed as yet, and that it tended to Peace and Mercy, granted his Desire ; and so delivered them to Onkos to secure them until his Engagement was performed, because our Prison had been very much pestered with such Creatures.

We then drew our Bark into a Creek, the better to defend her ; for there were many Hundreds, within five Miles waiting upon us. There we Quartered that Night : In the Morning as soon as it was Light there appeared in Arms at least Three Hundred Indians on the other Side the Creek : Upon which we stood to our Arms ; which they perceiving, some of them fled, others crept behind the Rocks and Trees, not one of them to be seen. We then called to them, saying, We desired to speak with them, and that we would down our Arms for that end : Whereupon they stood up : We then informed them, That the Pequots had violated their Promise with the English, in that they were not there to inhabit, and that we were sent to supplant them : They answered saying, The Pequots were good Men, their Friends, and they would Fight for them, and protect them : At which we were somewhat moved, and told them, It was not far to the Head of the Creek where we would meet them, and then they might try what they could do in that Respect.

They then replied, That they would not Fight with English Men, for they were Spirits, but would Fight with Onkos. We replied, That we thought it was too early for them to Fight, but they might take their opportunity ; we should be burning Wigwams, and carrying Corn aboard all that Day. And presently beating up our Drum, we Fired the Wigwams in their View : And as we Marched, there were two Indians standing upon a

Hill jeering and reviling of us: Mr. Thomas Stanton our Interpreter, Marching at Liberty, desired to make a Shot at them; the Captain demanding of the Indians. What they were? Who said, They were Murtherers: Then the said Stanton having leave, let fly, Shot one of them through both his Thighs; which was to our Wonderment, it being at such a vast distance.

We then loaded our Bark with Corn; and our Indians their Canoes: And thirty more which we had taken, with Kittles, Trays, Mats, and other Indian Luggage, That Night we went all aboard, and set Sail homeward: It pleased God in a short Time to bring us all in safety to the Place of our Abode; although we strook and stuck upon a Rock. The Way and Manner how God dealt with us in our Delivery was very Remarkable; The Story would be somewhat long to trouble you with at this time; and therefore I shall forbear.

Thus we may see, How the Face of God is set against them that do Evil, to cut off the Remembrance of them from the Earth. Our Tongue shall talk of thy Righteousness all the Day long; for they are confounded, they are brought to Shame that sought our Hurt! Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doth wondrous Things; and blessed be his holy Name for ever: Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory! Thus the Lord was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance: Who remembered us in our low Estate, and redeemed us out of our Enemies Hands: Let us therefore praise the Lord for his Goodness and his wonderful Works to the Children of Men!

ADDITION.

I shall add a Word or two by way of Coment.

OUR Commons were very short, there being a general scarcity throughout the Colony of all sorts of Provision, it being upon our first Arrival at the Place. We had but one Pint of strong Liquors among us in our whole



March, but what the Wilderness afforded ; (the Bottle of Liquor being in my Hand) and when it was empty, the very smelling to the Bottle would presently recover such as Fainted away, which happened by the extremity of the Heat : And thus we Marched on in an uncoath and unknown Path to the English, though much frequented by Indians. And was not the Finger of God in all this ? By his special Providence to lead us along in the Way we should go : Nay though we knew not where their Forts were, how far it was to them, nor the Way that led to them, but by what we had from our Indian Guides ; whom we could not confide in, but looked at them as uncertain : And yet notwithstanding all our Doubts, we should be brought on the very fittest Season ; nay and which is yet more, that we should be carried in our March among a treacherous and perfidious People, yea in our allodgment so near the Enemy, all Night in so populous a Country, and not the least notice of us ; seemeth somewhat strange, and more than ordinary : Nay that we should come to their very Doors : What shall I say : God was pleased to hide us in the Hollow of his Hand ; I still remember a Speech of Mr. Hooker at our going aboard ; That they should be Bread for us. And thus when the Lord turned the Captivity of his People, and turned the Wheel upon their Enemies ; we were like Men in a Dream ; then was our Mouth filled with Laughter, and our Tongues with Singing ; thus we may say the Lord hath done great Things for us among the Heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord !

I shall mention two or three special Providences that God was pleased to vouchsafe to Particular Men ; viz. two Men, being one Man's Servants, namely, John Dier and Thomas Stiles, were both of them Shot in the Knots of their Handkerchiefs, being about their Necks, and received no Hurt. Lieutenant Seeley was Shot in the Eyebrow with a flat headed Arrow, the Point turning downwards : I pulled it out myself. Lieutenant Bull had an Arrow Shot into a hard piece of Cheese, having no other Defence : Which may verify the old Saying, A little Armour would serve if a Man knew where to place

it. Many such Providences happened ; some respecting my self ; but since there is none that Witness to them, I shall forbear to mention them.

The Year ensuing, the Colony being in extream Want of Provision, many giving twelve Shillings for one Bushel of Indian Corn ; the Court of Connecticut imploying Captain Mason, Mr. William Wadsworth and Deacon Stebbin, to try what Providence would afford, for their Relief in this great Straight : Who notwithstanding some discouragement they met with from some English, went to a Place called Pocomtuck :* where they procured so much Corn at reasonable Rates, that the Indians brought down to Hartford and Windsor, Fifty Canoes laden with Corn at one time. Never was the like known to this Day ! So although the Lord was pleased to shew his People hard Things ; yet did he execute Judgment for the Oppressed, and gave Food to the Hungry. O let us meditate on the Great Works of God : Ascribing all Blessing and Praise to his Great Name, for all his Great Goodness and Salvation ! Amen, Amen.

FINIS.

ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

FORT CUMBERLAND, *July 18th, 1755.*

Dear Sir,

I AM so extremely ill in bed with the wounds I received in my thigh, that I am under the necessity of employing my friend Captain Dobson to write for me. I conclude you have had some account of the action near the banks of the Monongahela, about seven miles from the French fort. As the reports spread are very imperfect, what you have heard must consequently be so too. You should have had a more early account of it, but every officer, whose business it was to have informed you, was either killed or wounded ; and our distressful situation put it out of our power to attend to it so much as we

* Since called Deerfield.

could otherwise have done. The 9th instant we passed and repassed the Monongahela by advancing first a party of 300 men, which was immediately followed by another of 200. The general, with the column of artillery, baggage, and the main body of the army, passed the river the last time about one o'clock. As soon as the whole had got on the fort side of the Monongahela we heard a very heavy and quick fire in our front. We immediately advanced in order to sustain them; but the detachment of the 200 and 300 men gave way and fell back upon us, which caused such confusion, and struck so great a panic among our men, that afterwards no military expedient could be made use of, that had any effect upon them. The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortations of the general and the officers, that they fired away, in the most irregular manner, all their ammunition, and then run off leaving the enemy their artillery, ammunition, provision and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till they got as far as Gist's Plantation, nor then only in part, many of them proceeding as far as Col. Dunbar's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were sacrificed by their unparalleled good behaviour; advancing sometimes in bodies and sometimes separately, hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them; but to no purpose. The general had five horses killed under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died the 13th instant. Poor Shirley was shot through the head; Captain Morris wounded; Mr. Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, he behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot; Col. Burton and Sir John Sinclair wounded; and inclosed I have sent you a list of killed and wounded, according to as exact accounts as we are yet able to get. Upon our proceeding with the whole convoy to the Little Meadow, it was found impracticable to advance in that manner. The general therefore advanced with 1200 men, with the necessary artillery, ammunition, and provision, leaving the main body of the convoy under the com-

I am,

Dear sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

ROBERT ORME.

A List of the officers who were present, and of those killed and wounded in action on the banks of Monongahela, the ninth day of July, 1755.

STAFF.

His Excellency Edward Braddock, Esq. General and Commander in Chief
of all his Majesty's forces in North America,

died of his wounds.

Robert Orme, Esq. - - - - - - - wounded.

Roger Morris, Esq.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	do.
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George Washington, Esq. Aid de Camp, - - - - do.

William Shirley, Esq.	- - - - -	<i>killed.</i>
Sir John St. Clair, Deputy Quarter Master General,		<i>wounded.</i>
Mathey Lesley, Gent. Assistant to the Qr. Master Gen.		<i>do.</i>
Francis Halket, Esq. Major of Brigade.		

44 REGIMENT.

Sir Peter Halket, Colonel,	<i>killed.</i>	Lieut. Halket,	<i>killed.</i>
Lieut. Col. Gage,		Freeby,	<i>wounded.</i>
	<i>slightly wounded.</i>	Allen,	
Capt. Fulton,	<i>killed.</i>	Simpson,	<i>wounded.</i>
Hobson,		Lock,	<i>do.</i>
Beckworth,		Disney,	<i>do.</i>
Gethins,	<i>killed.</i>	Kennedy,	<i>do.</i>
Lieut. Falconet,		Townsend,	<i>killed.</i>
Littler,	<i>wounded.</i>	Preston,	
Bayley,		Narlow,	<i>killed.</i>
Dunbar,	<i>wounded.</i>	Pennington.	<i>wounded.</i>
Pallinger,			

48 REGIMENT.

Lieut. Col. Burton,	<i>wounded.</i>	Capt. Lieut. Hathorne,	
Major Sparks,	<i>slightly wounded.</i>	Edmestone,	<i>wounded.</i>
Capt. Dobson,		Cope,	
Cholmley,	<i>killed.</i>	Brereton,	<i>killed.</i>
Boyer,	<i>wounded.</i>	Hart,	<i>do.</i>
Ross,	<i>do.</i>	Monstresseur,	<i>wounded.</i>
Lieut. Morris,			
Barbut,	<i>wounded.</i>	Dunbar,	
Watsham,	<i>do.</i>	Harrison,	
Crimble,	<i>killed.</i>	Cowhart,	
Wideman,	<i>do.</i>	McMullen,	<i>wounded.</i>
Hansard,	<i>do.</i>	Crow,	<i>do.</i>
Gladwin,	<i>wounded.</i>	Sterling,	<i>do.</i>

ARTILLERY.

Capt. Ord,		Lieut. McCloud,	<i>wounded.</i>
Lieut. Smith,	<i>killed.</i>	McCuller,	<i>do.</i>
Lieut. Buchanan,	<i>wounded.</i>		

ENGINEERS.

Peter McKeller, Esq.	<i>wounded.</i>	Williamson, Esq.	<i>wounded.</i>
Robert Gordon, Esq.	<i>do.</i>		

DETACHMENTS OF SAILORS.

Lieut. Spendelow,	<i>killed.</i>	Mr. Talbot, mid.	<i>killed.</i>
Mr. Hanes, mid.			

Capt. Stone, of General Lascell's regiment,	<i>killed.</i>
Floyer, of General Wharburton's regiment,	<i>wounded.</i>

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES.

Capt. Gates,	<i>wounded.</i>	Lieut. Howarth of	Capt. Dem-
Lieut. Soumrin,	<i>killed.</i>	meri's,	<i>wounded.</i>
Miller,		Lieut. Gray, of the same,	<i>do.</i>

VIRGINIA TROOPS.

Capt. Stevens,	<i>wounded.</i>	Capt. Woodward,	
Wagoner,		Wright,	<i>killed.</i>
Polson,	<i>killed.</i>	Splitdorff,	<i>do.</i>
Peronie,	<i>do.</i>	Stuart,	<i>wounded.</i>
Stewart,		W*****,	<i>killed.</i>
Hamilton,	<i>killed.</i>	M'Neal.	

According to the most exact return we can as yet get, about 600 men killed and wounded.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF REV. JOSEPH MCKEAN, D. D. LL. D. LATE BOYLSTON PROFESSOR OF RHETORICK AND ORATORY, IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

JOSEPH MCKEAN was born in Ipswich, county of Essex, Massachusetts, on the 19th of April, 1776. He was the youngest of five children, of whom two only remain. His mother died in his earliest infancy. She was universally respected, by those who knew her, as a woman of excellent understanding; of amiable and refined manners. His father* is yet living; and, though in his eighty first year, enjoys firm health, with a perfect use of his intellectual powers, which, like those of his body, are naturally strong and active. He is highly respected and esteemed for his scrupulous adherence to the principles of uprightness and integrity.

The subject of this sketch, when a child, was remarked for activity and vivacity, and gave early indications of more than common powers. He acquired a knowledge of English grammar, and the first rudiments of classical literature, at a public school in Boston. In 1787 he was

* Note A, at the end of the memoir.

placed in the academy at Andover; and was prepared for the University by Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton, from whom, on leaving that seminary, he received flattering testimonials of his talents and industry. At the commencement, 1790, he was admitted into Harvard College, at the age of fourteen years and three months. He had the merit, through his academical course, of holding a high rank at all the literary exercises of his class; and in several branches was much distinguished, particularly in the classical studies and in mathematicks.

Having received the degree of A. B. in 1794, he took charge of a school in the town of his nativity, in which he continued almost two years, and at the same time commenced his professional studies with the Rev. Dr. Joseph Dana of that place. Towards this pious and excellent man, he retained, to the close of life, sentiments of grateful respect and esteem, ever acknowledging, with great sensibility, the important benefits he derived from his society, instructions and example.

In May, 1796, he exchanged his school in Ipswich for the academy in Berwick, in which he passed a year and two months. He here made a publick profession of religion, and attached himself to the church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Thompson, with whom he continued his theological studies. He left Berwick in July, 1797, took his second degree at the University, and fixed his residence for a short time in Boston, where he finished his preparation for the ministry with the Rev. Dr. John Eliot, between whom and Mr. McKean, there ever afterwards existed an uninterrupted harmony and friendship, cemented and strengthened by a reciprocation of kind offices, and by an undisguised and confidential interchange of thoughts and sentiments.

Being approved by the Boston association, he immediately commenced the exercise of his profession. His services were received from the first with high favour; and in a short time he was invited to a settlement in Milton. This first invitation he thought proper to accept, and in November, 1797, was ordained to the pastoral office.

As a christian minister, he was greatly respected and beloved. Deeply sensible of the responsibility of his charge, as well as of the importance and difficulty of the ministerial duties, he applied himself with great intensity to the study of his profession. He examined the works of critics and commentators, and became well acquainted with the different views of theological writers. These he respected as valuable reservoirs of information ; but the bible was to him the only infallible source of information on this momentous subject. This was a portion of his daily study ; and from this source alone he extracted the doctrines of his religion, and the maxims of his life. He was catholic and charitable in his feelings, and could have pleasant communion with those, who differed from him on points of faith. While he claimed the right of judging for himself, he was willing to allow others the same privilege ; and he respected the sincere and pious of every denomination.

In the pulpit, his manner was serious and fervent ; his discourse plain, evangelical, and persuasive. He seldom discussed in publick any of those merely speculative questions, which are agitated by sectaries and polemicks, and which tend to produce discord and alienation among christians. Still he withheld from his people no truths, nor doctrines, which he conceived to be of importance to the salvation of men. His discourses were always of a practical character. Whenever he stated any doctrines of the gospel, he took care to trace the moral precepts and duties connected with them.

In September, 1799, he entered into the conjugal state. This connexion, originating in early acquaintance, and matured by increasing affection and esteem, was the foundation of great domestic felicity. In the interesting relations of this state, his character was worthy to be imitated by all. He took a peculiar interest in the trifling occurrences and innocent amusements of his little family circle, whose intellectual, moral, and religious improvement he was ever solicitous to promote.

The fidelity and ability, with which for a while he performed the ministerial duties, gave the people of his so-

ciety the encouraging expectation of his future and growing usefulness among them. But it pleased the supreme Disposer of events to disappoint their hopes. A long and dangerous sickness, commencing with a pulmonary attack, in the summer of 1803, left him in such a state of debility, that he was induced, the following year though with great reluctance, to ask a dismissal from his parochial charge. This was regularly granted him, Oct. 3d, 1804, with an honourable recommendation, by an ecclesiastical council, convened to witness and ratify the separation.

The shock, which his constitution, till then uncommonly firm and robust, had received from this sickness, was sensibly felt for many years, and was never fully repaired. He was advised by physicians to avoid the effects of severe cold, by passing the winter months in the milder climates of the south. This precaution was adopted with respect to the winter previous to his separation from his people, and two seasons subsequent to that event. The benefits derived from the change of scene and climate, from the air of the ocean, and the exercise of travelling, were very important ; and his health became so much improved, that he was able to employ his talents for the benefit of his family and of the publick. He preached occasionally with great acceptance, and received a very flattering invitation from the society in Hollis Street, Boston, to re-settle in the ministry, as a colleague with the Rev. Dr. West. But he was apprehensive, that his lungs were too weak to support the frequent exercise of publick speaking, and his general health insufficient to justify him in resuming the arduous labours of a stated ministry. He again engaged in the business of instruction. In this useful vocation he ever took great delight, and never failed to perform its duties to the high satisfaction of his employers.

He was afterwards induced to accept a seat in the legislature of the Commonwealth, with which he was twice honoured by the citizens of Boston. As he always felt a great interest in the objects of political science, and in public affairs, and possessed talents, which would have

insured him an honourable standing among legislators and statesmen, many of his friends were desirous of advancing him forward into publick life ; and for a while he appeared to listen to their suggestions. He had previously directed his attention to legal studies, thinking it expedient, on account of his health, to make a material change in his habits of life. This circumstance suggests a reason for his declining the office of Hollis Professor of Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy, which was tendered to him by the Corporation of the University, in 1807. This professorship, under other circumstances, would have been gladly accepted ; as it would have given him a favourable opportunity for extending his inquiries in a delightful and important field of knowledge, for which he had an early predilection.

About two years from the time of the former appointment, the eyes of the Corporation were placed on him a second time, and he was elected to fill the Boylston Professorship of Rhetorick and Oratory, which had then become vacant. The increasing firmness of his health was among the reasons, which influenced his concurrence with the College Boards in this appointment. He was inaugurated in this professorship, October 31, 1809 ; from which time, till within a few months of his death, his talents were faithfully exerted in discharging its numerous duties.

As professor of rhetorick and oratory he justly obtained the praise of uncommon industry and punctuality. He was governed by a scrupulous sense of duty, and a regard to the best interests of the University. The ability and success, with which he performed the business of instruction, and his unremitted attention to the moral and religious, as well as to the intellectual improvement of his pupils, were perceived and acknowledged by those, who enjoyed the benefit of his labours. His publick lectures reflect honour on himself and the University. In these it was his aim to give condensed and summary views of what was most important to be known on the subjects, which successively came under his notice. The different kinds of eloquence, with their characteristick properties

and appropriate rules, were described with clearness and brevity. He was happy in drawing his illustrations from sources, which were both instructive and interesting. These were often made with such peculiar pertinency, and with such felicity of language, as to produce a sensible effect on his audience.

Dr. McKean possessed a strong, clear, and discriminating mind, which was highly cultivated by a life of reading and study. His perceptive powers were uncommonly quick and active. His attainments were not of a superficial character, nor limited to a few select branches of science. An ardent curiosity prompted him to seek a general acquaintance with the objects of human knowledge; and he investigated, with care and perseverance, the various subjects, which fell under his examination. The constitution of his mind was however better adapted to general views, than to minute speculations. He grasped with great readiness the leading outlines of systems and theories, and could with wonderful perspicacity descry their various bearings and tendencies, when he did not pursue general principles through their subordinate windings, and to their remotest ramifications.

He indulged himself in a manner of study more desultory, than would generally be found beneficial; but with him it was attended by no ill consequences. He classified his thoughts with remarkable facility, and by philosophical principles more than by casual association. His various and extensive acquisitions were adjusted in a happy order, and were always subject to his command. He was seldom encumbered with a labouring recollection. His memory was prompt as well as retentive; two qualities rarely united in a superior degree.

He placed a high value on classical learning, and could read the Greek and Roman authors with much ease. He was conversant with natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history, and the most approved works on criticism and taste. But the studies best suited to his inclination, and the peculiar construction of his mind, were of the severer sort. He was pleased with those speculations, which afforded exercise and scope to the energies of his intellect. In

astronomy, physicks, and the exact sciences, his knowledge was ample. He was acquainted with the various theories of writers on moral and intellectual philosophy. He possessed an extensive knowledge of facts relative to the early history of this country ; and felt a high reverence for the simple virtues and enterprising character of the Fathers of New England. He had a passion for antiquarian researches, and had collected a valuable cabinet of ancient coins and minerals.

His writings,* a few specimens of which are before the publick, exhibit great perspicuity, as well as strength, boldness, and originality. They are characterized rather by those qualities, which depend on judgment and reasoning, than by those, which result from imagination and fancy. He was in the habit of corresponding with several literary gentlemen† both in this and in foreign countries. He received flattering testimonials of his character and attainments from learned societies in various places. He was recording secretary, and a most efficient member of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; and an honorary member of the Historical Society of New York. He had been elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences ; but this honour, by reason of his numerous engagements of a similar nature, he saw fit to decline. The degree of Doctor of Laws had been conferred on him by the College in Princeton, N. J. and that of Doctor of Divinity by the Alleghany College in Pennsylvania.

In the intercourse of private and social life, Dr. McKean displayed the most endearing qualities of mind and heart. In the society of friends, the smile of cheerfulness enlightened his countenance. His versatility of talents, his captivating powers and animated tone of conversation, made him an agreeable and instructive companion. There was a portion of enthusiasm in his constitution, which prompted him to pursue with ardour the enterprises, in which he was engaged. His feelings were warm and generous ; his attachments strong and

* Note B.

† Note C.

devoted. His hospitality was sincere and extensive. His life was filled with numerous and well directed acts of publick and private munificence. He was a member of various societies for pious and charitable purposes. To these he devoted a liberal portion of his time and property ; and in several of them sustained important offices, the duties of which he discharged with conscientious fidelity.

Of the few last weeks of his life, and the circumstances immediately connected with his death, the particulars are imperfectly known. He had been induced by the advice of physicians and friends, more than by his own judgment, to escape the hazards of winter in this place, by going to a milder climate, hoping, under Providence, that he might thus obtain some melioration of his complaints, and a protraction of life, though without any expectation of a final recovery. The benefits anticipated by a change of climate were not, in this instance, realized in the slightest degree. Immediately on his arrival at Havanna, he was seized with a general debility, accompanied by other alarming symptoms, from which he obtained not even a momentary relief. In these circumstances, though in a land of strangers, and remote from all his dearest connections, he was not however without the solace of sympathy, and those friendly attentions, which his case required. He was kindly invited to the house of Mr. Samuel Curson, formerly of Boston, from whose family he received those affectionate and unremitted attentions, which were calculated to sooth and comfort his last hours. On the 17th of March, 1818, he bade a final adieu to this world of suffering and change, in the full possession of his mental powers, and with unshaken trust in the mercy of God, through the merits of his Son.

The loss of this distinguished and excellent man, was deeply felt by a large portion of the community. He was highly esteemed for his piety and his eminent virtues. Respectful notice of his death was taken by several ministers in Boston, and its vicinity, in their publick discourses, some of which were afterwards printed. The Uni-

versity testified, by appropriate solemnities, its high respect for the character of Professor McKean, and the grief occasioned by his premature death. A eulogy was pronounced in the chapel of the University, by a professor, accompanied by prayer and sacred musick, on a day set apart for the purpose.

He was buried in Havanna, the day subsequent to that of his death. The funeral solemnities were attended with great decency and respect. Religious services were performed on the occasion by a protestant clergyman from Charleston, providentially present.

Over the grave of his beloved son, the aged father caused a monumental stone to be erected, on which is the following inscription.

Reliquiæ hic repostæ sunt
JOSEPHI McKEAN,
V. D. M. S. T. D. et LL. D. Rhet. et Orat. Professoris
in Universitate Harvardiana,
Cantabrigiæ, Nov. Anglorum,
Ætatis 42.

Alieni !
Parcite huic lapidi sacro !
Cineres honorate
Viri
celeberrimi, optimi, carissimi.

NOTE A.

WILLIAM McKEAN was born in Glasgow, Scotland, 7th April, 1739, and came to this country in 1763. He removed from Boston to Ipswich, county of Essex, Massachusetts, in 1775, on account of the war of the revolution, which occasioned a general interruption of business. He returned to Boston in 1783, which has ever since been the place of his residence.

He married, in 1769, Sarah Manning, daughter of Dr. Joseph Manning of Ipswich, who was graduated at Har-

vard College in 1751. She died 15th of May, 1776. Their children are as follows.

Agnes, who was born 13th of January, 1770. She married Henry Swift, Boston, who died 3d April, 1808, leaving three children.

Sarah, born 24th June, 1771, and died 6th October, 1775.

William, born 25th February, 1773, and died 6th November, 1790.

Elizabeth, born 7th August, 1774.

Joseph, the subject of the foregoing sketch, married, in 1799, Amy Swasey, daughter of Maj. Joseph and Susannah Swasey of Ipswich. Her father was a faithful officer in the revolutionary war, and afterwards enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the confidence and esteem of his fellow citizens. He died 1st April, 1816.

Her mother was daughter of Henry Wise, A. M. who was graduated at Harvard College, 1717, and was son of Rev. John Wise, A. M. who was graduated at Harvard College, 1673, was the first minister of Chebacco, and author of a treatise on the government of New England churches.

NOTE B.

The publications of Dr. J. McKean, are the following.

1. A Valedictory Sermon, preached in Milton, September 30th, 1804.
2. A Plea for Friendship and Patriotism, in two Discourses, preached at First Church, Boston: the first on Lord's day 27th March, and the second on the annual Fast, 7th April, 1814.
3. Sermon delivered at the Ordination of Rev. J. B. Wight, 25th January, 1815.
4. Sermon delivered at the Ordination of Rev. N. L. Frothingham, 15th March, 1815.
5. Sermon delivered in the Church in Brattle Square, Boston, on the Lord's day next after the death of John Warren, M. D. 10th April, 1815.

6. Sermon delivered at the Installation of Rev. Dr. Richmond, Dorchester, 25th June, 1817.

Memoir on Rev. John Eliot, S. T. D. printed in the Historical Collections.

Addition to Wood's Continuation of Dr. Goldsmith's History of England.

NOTE C.

Among the literary correspondents of Dr. J. McKean, were the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. Prof. Eccl. Hist. in the Theol. Inst. Princeton, New Jersey. Rev. Christopher D. Ebeling, late Professor at Hamburg. Rev. Robert Morrison, D. D. Missionary from the London Missionary Society, at Canton, China. Rev. Thomas Hall, Chaplain of the British Factory at Leghorn. Robert Anderson, M. D. Edinburgh, Scotland. Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. Philadelphia. Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D. Pres. Union College. Hon. Samuel Bayard, Delaware. Elias Boudinot, Esq. President of the American Bible Society, New Jersey. David Ramsay, M. D. late of Charleston, South Carolina.

AN ACCOUNT OF PLAINFIELD, IN HAMPSHIRE COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS. BY JACOB PORTER, A. M.

Extent and Boundaries.

PLAINFIELD, a post town in the northwest corner of Hampshire county, is about six miles by four in extent. It is bounded north by Hawley, east by Ashfield, both in Franklin county, south by Cummington, west by Windsor and Savoy, in Berkshire county.

Surface.

The surface, though considerably hilly, is much less so than that of the adjoining towns. From this last circumstance the town is supposed to derive its name. In the western part of the town are two ponds; the North Pond, so called with reference to another south of it, in

Windsor, and the Crooked Pond, so called from its figure. These ponds are interspersed with several romantic islands. On these, as well as on their borders, grows a profusion of trees, shrubs and wild flowers, which render them a most interesting place of resort to the botanist.

An inconsiderable stream, called Baker's Brook, runs through the central part of the town, and empties into Westfield River at Cummington. On this stream there are two woollen Factories, two saw mills, and a grain mill. Another grain mill is situated on a smaller stream, to the east of this.

Geology and Mineralogy.

"The geology and mineralogy of Plainfield may be comprised in a few words. It consists wholly of sienite, hornblend, slate and porphyry. There are some loose pieces of granite, which probably came from the Goshen range. At any rate, these pieces are out of place, when found in Plainfield." For these remarks I am indebted to an intelligent mineralogist. In addition to them I may observe, that very fine specimens of shorl, in beautiful crystals, are found here in great plenty.

Botany.

Among our herbaceous wild plants, the first that appear are the delicate claytonia, the graceful three-lobed hepatica, the round-leaved violet, with its fine nodding blossoms, and the crythronium or dog's tooth violet. These flower about the last of April, frequently before the snow has left the ground. At the same time appear the blossoms of the alder, hazel, and poplar; soon after those of the uvularia or bellwort, the chrysasplenium or golden saxifrage, and the large trillium. The latter part of May appear the cowslip, the early corydalis or cobic weed, the lovely goldthread, several species of the violet, the beautiful three-leaved panax and the common ginseng, the prostrate and two-leaved mitellas, the three-leaved arum or Indian turnip, the thimbleberry, the gooseberry, the caulophyllum, the spice bush, the white

berried gaultheria, the fly honeysuckle, the viburnum or hobble bush, and among the trees, the elm, ash, beech, aronia or shad tree, yellow and white birch, and red and sugar maples. The appearance of our forests at this season of the year has often reminded me of that antiquated, but beautiful description of our scenery, contained in Hubbard's History of New England: "Yea, in May you shall see the woods and fields so curiously decked with roses and an innumerable multitude of other delightful flowers, not only pleasing to the eye but smell, that you may behold nature contending with art, and striving to equal, if not excel many gardens in England."

Among those, that flower in June, the most interesting are the houstonia, the small trillium, the sarsaparilla, the dentaria or tooth-root, Solomon's seal, of which we have five species, the starflowered trientalis, the brilliant azalea or swamp pink, the cypripedium or ladies' slipper, two species of crowfoot, the blue-eyed grass, the medeola, several species of whortleberry, the small enothera, the mandrake, two species of veronica or speedwell, the golden senecio or ragwort, the columbine, the common Norway and silver potentillas, the sanicle, early and common fleabane, the prunella, red and white clover, the circæa or enchanter's nightshade, the mitchella, the red-berried gaultheria or partridge berry, the lovely linnæa, the yellow diervilla, the thorn bush, the sumach, and the mountain ash. At this season of the year, many of our fields are so completely covered with the blossoms of the tall crowfoot, or, as it is here called, the yellow weed, as to form

"One burnished sheet of living gold."—*Scott*.

The linnæa is a small, creeping, woody plant. It must ever be a favourite with the lover of nature, not only from the exquisite delicacy and fragrance of its blossoms, but from being consecrated to the memory of him, whom we all venerate as the prince of botanists. The mountain ash is a very ornamental tree. Its leaves, resembling those of the sumach, are intermixed with clusters of small, white blossoms, succeeded by bunches of red berries, which hang on during the winter.

In July the lover of plants is gratified with the fungous flowered corydalis, the broad and narrow-leaved kalmias, the brilliant fimbriate orchis, two species of pyrala, the small geranium, several species of hypericum or John's wort, the large enothera, the round-leaved mallows, three species of the epilobium or willow herb, one of which is very beautiful, the white spirea, agrimony, the common iris, the woody and black nightshades, the northern mint, the penny-royal, the buglon, a species of cynoglossum or hound's tongue, the lycopus, the wild rose, two species of vervain, the scutellaria or skullcap, Canada and spear thistles, asclepias or milk-weed, the mimulus or monkey flower, the flowering raspberry, and among the trees the chesnut and basswood. The fungous flowered corydalis is a very delicate and graceful plant. It climbs to the height of ten or twelve feet, supporting itself by means of tendrils, and is far more ornamental than any of the plants, that are usually cultivated around the windows of the curious.

In August the eye is gratified with the flowers of the graceful clematis, the downy leaved spiræa, or harlhack, the beautiful chelone or snake-head, the inflated, pale and water lobelias, the spearmint, the hippuris, the leafless utricularia, the hydropeltis or water target, the floating villarsia or spurstem, the transparent eriocaulon or pipewort, the sagittaria, the phytolacca or poke, the rosy corydalis, numerous species of the aster, eupatorium and golden rod, and the syngenerian plants generally. The leaves of the chelone have been used as a bitter with advantage.

After these, very few plants appear, except the witch-hazel, which, as the cold weather commences, displays its riband-like petals, giving to October the deceitful appearance of spring. Its seeds are brought to maturity the following season.

Besides the trees mentioned above, we have several of the evergreen family, particularly the white pine, spruce, hemlock, and silver fir, from the last of which the Canada balsam is obtained.

Among the plants in the neighbouring towns, that are too interesting to be omitted, are rosemary-leaved an-

dromeda, the white nymphaea or fragrant water lilly, the purple sarracenia, or, as it is here called, meadow cups and forefathers' pitcher, and the beautiful larch. A collection, both of the minerals and plants to be found in this place and the vicinity, has been made by the writer of this article.

Curiosity.

In the pasture of George Vining, about a mile west of the meeting-house, are certain marks on some soft rocks, which appear to have been the work of art. As the land has never been ploughed, and the marks of the harrow do not seem sufficient to account for them, I mention them here for the examination of the curious. I have since observed similar marks on a rock in Windsor.

Literature.

The town is divided into six school districts, in each of which schools are regularly taught about half the year. Only two persons from Plainfield ever received a publick education, one of whom is now a missionary in Ceylon,* the other an attorney in his native place. Five young gentlemen from this town are now members of college.

There is a library, containing seventy six volumes, belonging to a few young men; the largest private library contains one hundred and fifty volumes.

Religion.

A Congregational church, consisting of fourteen members, was gathered here, August 31, 1786. The Rev. Moses Hallock was ordained its pastor, July 11, 1792. He was educated at Yale College, where he received the degree of bachelor of arts in 1788.

There have been several revivals of religion in this place, which contributed largely to the increase of the church. In 1794, seventeen persons joined the church; in 1798, thirty one; and in 1808, sixty one. The present number of members is ninety five.

The edifice for publick worship is a neat wooden building, erected in 1792. It is furnished with a bell, and

* Rev. James Richards.

handsomely painted. Previous to the formation of the church, in 1786, this society formed a part of the ministerial charge of the Rev. James Briggs of Cummington.

Besides this religious society, there are a few Baptists and Methodists. There is also a society for promoting good morals, an education society, and a heathen school society.

History.

A considerable tract of land, including this town and several others in the vicinity, was by the Indians called Pantoosuk. It does not, however, appear that the Indians ever resided on these mountains.

Cummington and Plainfield were sold by the General Court to John Cummings, Esq. of Concord, June 2, 1762. The first meeting of the proprietors was held at Concord, December 21, the same year. Plainfield was incorporated as a district of Cummington, March 16, 1785; as a town, June 15, 1807.

The first person, that resided within the present limits of the town, was a Scotchman by the name of Macintire, who, with his family, began a settlement here in March, 1770.

One of the first settlers has informed me, that deer were very common here about forty years since; but they were entirely extirpated by the hunters of those days.

The first district meeting was holden July 25, 1785. It appears from the records of the district, that a deer-reeve was chosen this and the following year. The first framed house was erected here about forty years since.

A tract of excellent land, containing about 600 acres, in the easterly part of the town, owned by a merchant in Boston, is still uncultivated.

The air is remarkably pure, the water perfectly good, and the place is generally considered as very healthy. That scourge of our country, the pulmonary consumption, is with us a rare disease. During a residence here of almost nine years, I recollect but three instances of death from this cause.

The number of inhabitants, according to the census of 1810, is 977. Though the increase is very rapid, the

emigrations to the westward very nearly balance it. In the year 1803, there were thirty deaths, the greatest number, which I find on record since 1802. In 1809 there were eight, which is the smallest number in any year within the same period.

Plainfield, August 6, 1818.

AMHERST, N. H. *July 21, 1818.*

NOTE ON NEW LONDON, NEW HAMPSHIRE. BY JOHN FARMER.

Situation and Boundaries.

NEW LONDON, a pleasant and elevated town, is situated in the northerly part of the county of Hillsborough, in lat. $43^{\circ} 24'$ north. It is bounded northeast by Wilmot, south by Sutton and Fishersfield, west by Wendell, and northwest by Springfield. It contains an area of nearly 15,000 acres, of which about 2,000 are water. Its distance from Portsmouth on a direct line is sixty four miles, bearing N. 67° W. twenty five miles from Concord and eighty two from Boston.

River and Brooks.

A branch of Blackwater River proceeds from Pleasant Pond, situated in the northeast part of the town. Lyon Brook is a small stream, and received its name from one of the first settlers.

Lake and Ponds.

Part of Lake Sunapee is situated in the west part of this town. A canal from the Merrimack to the Connecticut, through this lake, was formerly deemed practicable. But a regular survey to ascertain its practicability being made in 1816, by persons appointed by the governments of Massachusetts and this state, it was found that the fall each way from the lake to these rivers, exceeded eight hundred and twenty feet, so that all future speculations on the subject are probably put to rest.

There are several considerable ponds, designated by the names, Pleasant, East Sunapee, West Sunapee, East Mud, West Mud, and Otter Ponds. Pleasant Pond is six hundred rods long, and two hundred rods wide, and is the principal source of Blackwater River. East Sunapee, three hundred rods long, and one hundred and fifty rods wide, is the principal source of Sugar River. The surfaces of Mud Ponds are twelve feet higher than the surface of Lake Sunapee. Notwithstanding this, a canal connecting Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers would necessarily be made through Mud Ponds.

Islands.

There are several Islands; Lowplain, Blueberry and Rock Islands, in Pleasant Pond; Plumb Islands in West Sunapee Pond; and Mud Island in West Mud Pond.

Soil, &c.

The soil is generally hard; in some parts rocky, but it well rewards the labour of agriculture. The natural growth consists principally of maple, beech, birch, hemlock, spruce, ash, and bass trees. Ashes and coals are found several feet under the surface of the ground near Lake Sunapee.

Village.

The principal village of New London, denominated *Federal Village*, consists of several houses, a store, cabinet maker's, joiner's, saddler's, shoemaker's, blacksmith's shops, &c. It is pleasantly and centrally situated; has a commanding view of the town and adjacent country, of Ascutney, Kearsarge, Sunapee, Croydon, Cardigan and Ragged Mountains. New London has two or three smaller villages, inhabited by wealthy, industrious and prosperous people.

There were in New London the last year, a Baptist meeting-house, a house in which the people occasionally hold religious meetings, and four school houses. There were also three stores, three corn mills, three saw mills, two clothier's mills, two carding machines, one nail manufactory, two brick manufactories, two tanneries, six black-

smith's shops, two saddler's shops, three shoemaker's shops, and one rake manufactory.

Roads.

The principal road through this town passes through New London street, and leads from Hopkinton to Hanover. The roads are generally good.

Population.

The number of inhabitants in 1817, was eight hundred. The number at different periods may be known by referring to the Note on the county of Hillsborough, in 7th vol. Hist. Coll. 2d series, page 69. In 1812, there were one hundred and twenty three polls.

History.

This town was formerly called Heidleburg. The settlement was commenced by two persons of the names of LYON and LAMB, who gave the name to the brook already mentioned. It was incorporated by the name of NEW LONDON, in 1779. What constitutes a considerable part of Wilmot, was taken from New London and incorporated in 1807.

The people here are generally attached to the tenets of the Baptists. They have two clergymen of that denomination. Elder Job Seamans was ordained here in 1789, and now officiates for the church and society. Elder Enoch Hunting was ordained here in 1814. The annual number of deaths is about eight. There is one practising surgeon and physician. A post office was established here the present year.

CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AMHERST, N. H. *January 6, 1819.*

Rev. Sir,

IN collecting materials for a topographical and historical description of an important section of the state of New Hampshire, I have obtained considerable informa-

tion respecting the churches and ministers of many towns, which, if the following specimen be acceptable, may be forwarded to you as opportunity shall permit.

With respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

J. FARMER.

Rev. Dr. Holmes.

AMHERST.

A church was formed and gathered by an ecclesiastical council in Amherst, then Souhegan, 22 September, 1741. Rev. Nathaniel Henschman of Lynn, was moderator of the council, which consisted of nineteen ministers and delegates. The other clergymen were Rev. Andrew Peters of Middleton, Rev. James Osgood of Wenham, Rev. Stephen Chase of Lynn, by whom the sermon was delivered, and Rev. Josiah Swan of Dunstable. Rev. Daniel Wilkins from Middleton, who graduated at Harvard College, 1736, was ordained by this council, 23 September, 1741. He departed this life, 11 Feb. 1783, aged 73. Rev. Jeremiah Barnard, from Bolton, who graduated at Harvard College, 1773, was ordained colleague to Rev. Mr. Wilkins, 3 March, 1780. Rev. Nathan Lord, from Berwick, Maine, was ordained as colleague to Rev. Mr. Barnard, 22 May, 1816. He received his education at Bowdoin College, Brunswick.

NEW BOSTON.

The first pastor of the Presbyterian church in this town was Rev. Solomon Moore, who was ordained 6 February, 1767. He was of a respectable family, and was born at Newtown, Limavady, in Ireland, 1736. He received the honours of the university at Glasgow in 1758. He studied theology with Professor Leechman of that university, and was licensed to preach by the Londonderry presbytery, 26 July, 1762. A few years after, he went to Halifax, N. S. and from thence he came to Boston, where he was recommended to Rev. Mr. Moorhead, for whom

he preached the first sabbath after his arrival. In February, 1767, he first went to this town, where he died 28 May, 1803, aged 67. Rev. Ephraim P. Bradford, who graduated at Harvard College, 1803, was ordained his successor in office, 26 February, 1806. There is a Baptist church in this town, over which Rev. Isaiah Stone was ordained 8 January, 1806.

WILTON.

The first minister of the church in this town was Rev. Jonathan Livermore, who was born in Northborough, Mass. 7 December, 1729, O. S. He graduated at Harvard College in 1760, and was ordained 14 December, 1763. He was dismissed, on account of what was termed *political heresy*, in February, 1777, and died at Wilton, 20 July 1809, in his 80th year. Mr. Livermore was succeeded by Rev. Abel Fiske, who was born at Pepperell, Mass. 28 May 1752, and graduated at Harvard College in 1774. He was ordained in November, 1778, and died 21 April, 1802, aged 50. Mr. Fiske was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Beedè, a native of Sandwich, N. H. who graduated at Harvard College, 1798. He was ordained 2 March, 1803, and continues in the ministry.

LYNDEBOROUGH.

The early ecclesiastical records in this town are destroyed, and it is somewhat difficult to fix the exact date of the organization of the church. Rev. John Rand, who graduated at Harvard College, 1748, was the first minister, and was ordained 3 December, 175-. He was dismissed from the ministry previous to 1769, and died a few years since at Bedford, N. H. Rev. Sewall Goodridge, who graduated at Harvard College, 1764, succeeded him, and was ordained 7 September, 1769. He died 14 March, 1809. The present pastor, Rev. Nathaniel Merrill, who graduated at Dartmouth College, 1809, was ordained 30 October, 1811.

SALISBURY.

A Congregational church was organized in this town in November, 1773, and about the same time, Rev.

Jonathan Searle, who graduated at Harvard College in 1765, was ordained to the pastoral care of it. He continued in the ministry about sixteen years and half, and was dismissed in 1790. Rev. Thomas Worcester, from Hollis, who received the honorary degree of A. M. at Dartmouth College in 1806, succeeded him, and was ordained 9 November, 1791. There is also a Baptist church in this place, formed about the time of Rev. Mr. Worcester's ordination, over which Rev. Otis Robinson presides.

HOLLIS.

The church in this town was gathered in 1743. It was then the west parish in Dunstable. Rev. Daniel Emerson, from Reading, Mass. who graduated at Harvard College, 1739, was ordained 20 April, 1743. The sermon at his ordination was delivered by Rev. Mr. Hobby of Reading, and was printed. Rev. Eli Smith, who graduated at Brown University, R. I. was ordained as colleague with Rev. Mr. Emerson, 27 November, 1793. Rev. Mr. Emerson died, 30 September, 1801, in the fifty-ninth year of his ministry, at the age of 85.

MONTVERNON.

The church in this place, at the time it was gathered, was the second church in Amherst. The first minister, Rev. John Bruce, born at Marlborough, Mass. 31 Aug. 1757, received his education at Dartmouth College, where he graduated 1781. He was ordained 22 November, 1785, and died 12 March, 1809, aged 52. His successor, Rev. Stephen Chapin, who graduated at Harvard College, 1804, was installed 26 November, 1809. Having espoused the sentiments of the Baptists, he requested and received a dismissal in November, 1818.

MERRIMACK.

The church in Merrimack was organized 5 September, 1772. Rev. Jacob Burnap, from Reading, the first and present minister, was ordained 14 October, 1772. The sermon at his ordination was preached by Rev. Thomas

Haven, of Reading, and was printed. Mr. Burnap graduated at Harvard College in 1770, and a few years since was honoured with the degree of doctor in divinity, which is the first honour of the kind bestowed upon a clergyman in the county of Hillsborough.

ANDROS'S ADMINISTRATION.

Letter from the Court to Joseph Dudley, Esq. and the rest of the Gentlemen named in his Majesty's Commission, May, 1686.

Gentlemen,

WE have perused what you left us as a copy of his majesty's commission, shewed us the 17th instant, empowering you for the governing of his majesty's subjects, inhabiting this colony and other places therein mentioned. You then applied yourselves to us, not as a Governour and Company, but, (as you were pleased to term us) some of the principal gentlemen and chief of the inhabitants of the several towns of the Massachusetts—amongst other discourse, saying, it concerned us to consider what therein might be thought hard and uneasy. Upon perusal whereof, we find, as we conceive ; First, That there is no certain determinate rule for your administration of justice ; and that which is seems to be too arbitrary. Secondly, That the subjects are abridged of their liberties as Englishmen, both in the *matter of legislation* and in the *laying of taxes* ; and indeed the whole unquestioned privilege of the subject transferred upon yourselves ; there being not the least mention of an assembly in the commission. And therefore we think it highly concerns you to consider whether such a commission be safe either for you or us. But if you are so satisfied therein, as that you hold yourselves obliged thereby, and do take upon you the government of this people, although we cannot give our assent thereto,

yet hope we shall demean ourselves as true and loyal subjects of his majesty, and humbly make our address unto God, and in due time to our gracious prince, for our relief.

Past by the whole Court, May 20, 1686, nemine contradicente.

Attest,

EDW : RAWSON, *Sec'ry*.*

At the same Court, it was ordered, That Samuel Nowell, Esq. Mr. John Saffin, and Capt. Timothy Prout, be a committee for a repository of such papers on file with the secretary, as refer to our charter, and negotiations, from time to time, for the security thereof; with such as refer to our title of our lands by purchase of Indians or otherwise. And the secretary is ordered accordingly to deliver the same unto them.

Letter from Sir E. Andros to W. Clark, Governour of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Boston, 22d December, 1686.

Sir,

THIS is to acquaint you that his majesty having been pleased to send me to the government of New England, of which you are a part, I arrived here the 20th instant, where I found all very well disposed to his majesty's service: And his majesty's letter patent to me for the said government, being then published, were received with suitable demonstrations.

I am commanded and authorized by his majesty, at my arrival in these parts, to receive in his name the surrender of the charter, if tendered by you, and to take you into my present care and charge, as other parts of the government, assuring his majesty's good subjects

* In 1685, James II. granted a commission to Joseph Dudley, as President, and to sixteen others, as a Council, who were to have the sole authority of governing Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Narraganset.

of his countenance and protection in all things relating to his service and their welfare.

I have only to add, that I shall be ready and glad to do my duty accordingly, and therefore desire to hear from you as soon as may be, and remain

Your very affectionate friend,

E. ANDROS.

Council Minutes, December 22, 1686.

Present,

His Excellency the Governour,

Joseph Dudley,	William Stoughton,
Wait Winthrop,	Peter Bulkley,
Richard Wharton,	Joseph Usher,
Bartholomew Gedney,	Jona. Ting,
and Secretary.	

ORDERED, That copies of the declaration made by his excellency in Council be sent to the several clerks of the county courts for their direction ; That summons be issued to the members of the Council in Rhode Island and New Plymouth, to be present on the 29th of this present December ; That a letter be sent to Major Pincheon and all the members of the Council to attend ; That Joseph Cowell be sent to Hartford with his excellency's letters.

Minutes of the first Council summoned by Sir Edmund Andros.

AT a Council held in Boston, New England, on Thursday, December 30th, 1686.

Present,

His Excellency Sir Edmund Andros,
Knight, Governour,

*Joseph Dudley,
 †Thomas Hinckley,
 *Wait Winthrop,
 ‡John Usher,
 †Barnabas Lathrop,
 †John Walley,
 §John Coggeshall,
 §Richard Arnold,

*William Stoughton,
 §Walter Clark,
 †Richard Wharton,
 *Jonathan Tyng,
 †William Bradford,
 †Daniel Smith,
 §Nathaniel Clarke,
 §Walter Newbury,

Edward Randolph, Secretary.

UPON opening of the Council his excellency commanded the members thereof to be called over by their names and take their places, as set down in certain articles of instructions from his majesty to his excellency the governour.

The members of the Council being accordingly seated, his majesty's commission for the government of this his territory and dominion of New England was read ; and also the instructions under his majesty's sign manual, empowering his excellency to receive the charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, was likewise read.

His excellency proceeded to administer the oath of allegiance and the oath also for the due administration of justice ; and commanded such persons of the Council as had not already taken those oaths to *stand up* and answer to their names, viz. Thomas Hinckley, Walter Clark, Barnabas Lathrop, William Bradford, Daniel Smith, John Walley, Nathaniel Clark, John Coggeshall, Walter Newbury, Richard Arnold and John Alborough, who all, except Walter Clark and Walter Newbury, did take the oaths, and shewed assent thereto by holding up their right hands.

Walter Clark and Walter Newbury also gave their express consent to the oath of allegiance and the oath for the administration of justice in the government, according as directed in his majesty's late commission to the Presi-

* Of the Massachusetts colony.
 † Of Plymouth colony.

‡ Of New Hampshire.
 § Of Rhode Island and Narraganset.

dent and Council, professing themselves obliged in all good conscience before God so to do, and that under the utmost penalties of perjury, in all respects; the members of the Council being severally asked their opinion did allow of their protestation.

His excellency, in a short discourse, encouraged the members to proceed in debate. Walter Clark and Walter Newbury acknowledged the surrender of that charter made to his majesty at Windsor; but fearing that surrender was not effectual, for avoiding all mistakes they had presented an humble address to his majesty under the publick seal of their colony, and had sent over agents to pray his majesty's favour towards them. And W. Clark further added, the charter of Rhode Island was in his custody at Newport.

It was moved that a proclamation should be made through all the colonies and provinces of this government, that all officers, both civil and military, should be continued in their places of trust; and that the laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, in the several colonies should be observed during his excellency's pleasure.

LETTERS ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF ATTEMPTS FOR THE
ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

WENHAM, *January 6, 1819.*

Dear Sir,

HEREWITH I send you a small book, entitled "Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford." By Roberts Vaux. With many curious additions, in the marginal notes, written by Timothy Matlack, Esq. of Philadelphia.

Near two years ago, during my last attendance in Congress, at Washington, the book was put into my hands, to read, by William Findley, Esq. of Pennsylvania, also a member of the same body, to whom it had been sent by Mr. Matlack. It was accompanied by a long letter of Mr. Matlack's, written, it seems, to satisfy Mr. Find-

ley's inquiries concerning the origin and progress of the attempts and measures for the abolition of African slavery in Pennsylvania. This letter I also send you; and request you to present both to the Massachusetts Historical Society; for whose use I begged them of Mr. Findley, with the subsequent approbation of Mr. Matlack.

On my way home, mentioning to an acquaintance, a respectable "Friend," in Philadelphia, Mr. Matlack's letter and notes, he desired to see them. On returning them, he said to the gentleman at whose house I lodged (for I was absent) that many of the facts stated by Mr. Matlack, were well known to others.

I have known Mr. Matlack about forty years. He is now probably approaching to ninety years of age. The manuscript notes and the tenor of his letter will convince you that his mental powers were in full vigour; and in bodily activity, perhaps no man of equal age surpasses him.

The unintentional delay in making this communication to the Historical Society, gives me the opportunity to introduce a notice of the early attention to the subject of negro slavery, in Boston. In a Centinel of the last year, was published the following transcript from the ancient records of the selectmen of Boston.

"1701, May 26. The Representatives are desired to promote the encouraging the bringing of white servants, and to put a period to negroes being slaves"

With sincere esteem,

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

The Reverend Dr. Freeman.

PHILADELPHIA, *January 11th*, 1817.

Dear Sir,

THE inquiry you make respecting the abolition of slavery, I suppose is meant to be general, without re-

gard to exact dates, and shall, therefore, give you what occurs to me upon the subject on that ground. The practice of slave keeping in Pennsylvania commenced with the first settlement of the province, and *certainly* was countenanced by William Penn. An original letter from himself to his agent here, finds fault with the agent for having purchased "redemptioners" as servants, instead of Africans, who would eventually have been cheaper. This letter was in the hands of John Pemberton, formerly of this city, so late as about 1756. About a year ago I sought for it, expecting to find it in the hands of Sally Zane, sister to John's widow, into whose hands his papers, and great part of his property fell; but it was not to be found. Penn left a family of slaves behind him; one of which I have often conversed with, and he always spoke of himself as Penn's body servant: He lived to extreme old age, and continued a gardener at Pennsbury-house, near this city, comfortably provided for to the last of his days. Slave keeping, of course, became general among "Friends" (as that people called themselves.) There were, however, at a very early period, some independent minds, in the middle class of that people, sternly opposed to the practice, as being altogether inconsistent with Christian morality; but they met with severe rebuke, not only from individuals, but likewise from the society, both in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, long before the time of Lay and Sandiford, who are now spoken of as if the opposition to slave keeping originated with them, or one of them. A copy of memoirs concerning these two men having been presented to me by the author, I indulged myself in making notes in the margin, as I read them. That copy I enclose you, with the notes unaltered, confiding in your candid allowance for the manner of the notes, which were intended solely for myself.

Of the early transactions of the society of "Friends," respecting this subject, I will mention two instances that have come to my knowledge, supported by that kind of evidence that they obtained full credit with me. The first is that of a "Publick Friend" of Bucks county,

whose name, I think, was Langhorne, who, under the sanction of the meeting, having gone on a visit to that society of people in Maryland, on observing the manner in which the Africans were treated in that province, struck with the injustice of the practice, returned home, and privately emancipated all his slaves, and then, with a clear conscience, returned to accomplish the object of his pious errand. His coming home, while on his visit, was, it seems, contrary to the discipline of the society in such case, and he was to account for it as a transgressor. His apology of emancipation, (as the story was related to me more than fifty years ago) far from giving satisfaction to the meeting, tended rather to increase the offence, and he was continued "under dealing" for a length of time, and, although an approved speaker among them, was discountenanced for a length of time : The example touched the pride of the high professing aristocracy.

The other case is that of Robert Zane, of Gloucester county in New Jersey, the grandfather of the two very respectable ladies above mentioned, as related to me by their father, Isaac Zane, when he was upwards of eighty years of age. He told me that his father, when rather a young man, was disowned by Friends in consequence of his zeal in bearing "his testimony" against slave keeping ; adding that, although his father was a man of acknowledged exemplary conduct, he never after regained his membership during a very long life. A circumstance so extremely improbable as this, I should have reluctantly related, had it not been again related to me by one of the ladies above mentioned, about a year ago, and who is now living in this city, ready and willing to confirm it, on the authority of her father's relating the case to her. She inherited from her brother, Isaac Zane, late of Virginia, a number of slaves to a great amount in value, which she, inheriting, also, the principles of her grandfather, and father, immediately emancipated in due form of law ; but firmly refused to hear from any of them a single word of acknowledgment for it as "a donation :—" "It was (said she to me) the happiest day of my life." Alas for the world ! Without a miracle, when she leaves

it *with such a soul*, she will leave not a spark of it behind her—And twice alas ! that it is too late for her “to save herself by repentance and amendment of life !”

The earliest emancipation that has come to my knowledge, was by Henry Burr in New Jersey, who died about the year 1742 : He was my mother’s brother. He left all his slaves free ; the eldest at his death, and the younger ones as they came of suitable age. Some of their family remain near Mount-Holley, and continue to maintain a fair character as industrious, sober, honest people : and I have heard, possess some real estate. The eldest of them lived till about the year 1762. Her character you may learn from the following epitaph, which I wrote for her grave-stone, at the time of her death ; which, as I felt when I wrote, still remains on my memory, to wit :

“IN memory of Maria, a faithful female slave, once the property of Henry Burr, and by him set free at the time of his death : This stone is set up by one who was present, when by accident she saw the son of her master’s grandson, and observed the tears of affection flow from her aged eyes : Reader ! if thou hast a slave, treat him with humanity for her sake.”

Permit me to observe, that it seems as if the time is rapidly approaching, when to suppose an American “*reader*” should *hold a slave*, would be a gross absurdity.

The next emancipation, within my knowledge, was by Peter White of Haddonfield, Gloucester county, New Jersey, who lived and died in a house adjoining to that in which I was born. He married another daughter of Henry Burr. He died within a year or two after the death of his wife’s father. Peter, also, left a family of slaves free ; providing however that his male slave should lay by a small sum annually, for his own support in case of inability to maintain himself. Yet, neither of those cases were passed by without some unpleasant remarks of disapprobation. The “Public Friend” who attended Haddonfield meeting, died abroad, on a religious visit, in October, 1742, about two years before I left that village ; and I always understood that he left his blacks in

slavery ; although he was universally esteemed as among the most estimable of men : He was both the priest and the physician of the village. One of Peter White's slaves, born in the year 1728* is yet living and in health, in his eighty ninth year, having supported the character of an honest man through his long life : He is my oldest acquaintance ; and I never heard an uncivil word from him in all my life : He has obtained and deserves esteem and respect. It is probable that other slaves might have been liberated soon after, but none other came to my knowledge, about that time : It was certainly not then fashionable to set slaves free.

In this situation things remained for eight or ten years : but the writings of Lay and Sandiford were working in the closets of very many " Friends," and of some few of other societies ; and to these were soon added as a new leaven the writings of Benezet and Woolman, both mild but persevering men, whose heart and soul were engaged in pursuit of their object ; and they spared no pains nor expense to have their works spread. Benezet was well heard by other societies—he was the son of a French Huguenot who left his country on account of his religious principles. Woolman was the son of a third daughter of the same Henry Burr, and was attended to in the "yearly meeting of Friends," not less on account of his modest demeanour, than for a supposed strength of mind and persevering zeal in whatever he undertook ; and the arguments against slave keeping being altogether unanswerable, the " yearly meeting," began to lean in favour of the " oppressed Africans," and after a hard struggle ventured to *recommend* their emancipation : yet the contest did not suddenly cease ; 'twas long and arduous. Pride, custom, interest and avarice fought perseveringly against humanity, justice and religion. I say pride, because the aristocracy of the day held the greatest proportion of slaves—and they were becoming the badge of a rising order among us ; and it was parted with very reluctantly.

* The first time I ever heard the word *cube* mentioned, was respecting the date of the year in which this man was born ; it was the " cube of twelve," equal to 1728, in which year three or four lads of Haddonfield were also born.

The ministers and elders gave way first, and the higher among the high professors next, and so on in that order to a very considerable extent in number and character ; there yet remained, however, a great body who had less pretensions of piety at stake, who appeared determined to make a firm stand in opposition, that might produce very serious effects on the society. And there followed for some time, a solemn boding pause.

But a bold, decisive character came forward among them, and pressed for the final measure of "disowning" all who disregarded the "advice of Friends;" and he was supported by a "minister" of great address and high reputation from Chester county ; and when a crisis appeared to have been at hand, that would have produced the most serious consequences, an event took place, that, although unseen as to its effect in this case, operated upon it with irresistible force. The celebrated Samuel Fothergill, whom I have always considered as the greatest pulpit orator of the age, arrived from England. He had risen to the pinnacle of religious profession, was master of a style purely classical, a powerful voice, distinct articulation, and with a strong and correct emphasis, and a solemnity of manner beyond all other men. He preached and bore all before him, and he gave a force and effect to the measures of the meeting that could not be withstood. He preached the gospel in its great outline, as you will perceive by one of his texts, that now occur to my memory—"For, I determined to know nothing among you, save only Jesus Christ and him crucified." You will conceive of his style and manner of speaking from a description, by Samuel Adams, of the effect of his prayer in the Old South, in Boston: "When he prayed (said he to me) it seemed as if heaven and earth were brought together."

The yearly meeting, thus supported in the exercise of church authority, resolved to disown all who persisted in holding slaves, and a very general compliance followed ; very few indeed having been disowned for contumacy ; and it was found that the loss was much less than had been calculated. Few slaves left their old masters, and

the wages paid them was little more than the cost of clothing them : Their food was the same. It was not long before it was announced to the world that there was not a slave held by any member of the society of Friends in Pennsylvania or New Jersey ! A circumstance that shed a lustre on the society, which was never before seen among that people ; and which time itself will never tarnish : and it will forever remain a subject of astonishment, that a people capable of such a recovery, should ever have committed such an error.

In the “ yearly meeting ” of Friends, no important question is ever decided on, until, as they express it, Friends appear to be “ of *one mind*.” Hence I suppose, that, should reference be had to their records for dates, they will, generally, be found rather later than I have stated them from recollection.

To account in some sort, for the manner of this sketch of what you inquire after, it is proper to inform you, that from the year 1749 I was in the family of a respectable elder of the meeting, in his full confidence, did *all* his writing, and was well acquainted with many of the most respectable members, ministers and others ; and attended their “ meetings of business.” And I shall offer you no apology for relating to you the following circumstance, which the present subject brings to my recollection. It will tend to open to you the character of the times : you have known me in my latter life, and I have no objection to your knowing me in my earlier days.

John Woolman, whose name has been already mentioned, was the son of my mother’s sister, a man of unexampled industry and self denial, of a mild and benevolent disposition, and accustomed to close thinking in his way, and not slightly tinctured by what some call fanaticism, and others call religion, had conceived in the year 1757, that it was his duty to pay a religious visit to the people of Maryland on the subject of slave keeping, and communicated “ his concern ” to me, and, although much younger than himself, he asked my “ sentiments ” upon the occasion. I loved the man, but was afraid of the austerity of his principles, and therefore endeavoured to evade

saying any thing to him upon the subject ; but he would not be set aside, and pressed with much earnestness to "express to him any sentiment that should occur to my mind on the subject." After reflecting for a few moments, I observed to him, that "were I to go on such a visit, I should think it proper to be exceedingly cautious what I said on such a subject: That considering that God governed the world in infinite wisdom, and by means of which we had no means of fully comprehending, and it struck me as possible that he might have introduced that people into this country to give them a knowledge of Christianity necessary to prepare them for a government of their own in this country." He made no reply, but, as I afterwards understood, he made his visit, advised kindness and forbearance towards their slaves, and returned well satisfied with what he had *done*, and perhaps quite as reasonably satisfied with what he had *left undone*.*

Little did I then expect, that, sixty years afterward, I should hear of a colonization of that people under a republican Congress ; and from what I see in the Mayor's Court of this city, of the conduct of the people of colour among us, much reason have I to doubt if they are much improved, by their residence among us. But it would be uncandid not to add, that there is in this city a few of these people who are valuable citizens : For example, a sail maker in my neighbourhood, tells me that during the past year he has received from one mercantile house, in the course of his business, upwards of "seven thousand dollars !"

Should the project of colonization be adopted, I wish it success ; but I ask myself shall we undertake to defend them ; or shall we leave them to the mercy of the tyrants of the world ? and then leave the answer to be made by the wisdom of Congress.

As to our law for the gradual abolition of slavery, it was an expression of the will of the majority of the peo-

* He died in England a little beyond middle age, (greatly lamented) on a religious visit—and, by the meeting, has been spoken of as having "*prophesied*" of his own death.

ple of Pennsylvania, in support of the great first principle of our government, "All men are born free and equal," and that majority has increased to a magnitude that promises unanimity. It bore hard on some widows and orphans, but the number was much less than had been estimated.

As to the "abolition society," it was formed by a body of well meaning men, for the purpose of supporting the abolition law, and whatever errors they may have committed, very few were intentional, and those not worth inquiring after. We hear very little more of them in this city: Their occupation is nearly "gone."

I really rejoice that the Union continue to receive the advantages of your experience and patriotism; and ought not to grieve that for seven years past they have so little occasion for mine. I shall then, only, have lived too long, when my old friends shall have forgotten me; of the very few who remain, I have long claimed you as one of them—and

I am sincerely, and with "high consideration,"

Yours,

T. MATLACK.

Hon. William Findley.

CAPE COD CANAL.

THE renovated inquiry, on the subject of the expediency of a canal from Buzzard's to Barnstable Bay, gives value to the following papers, which of themselves are not without interest. The letter of WASHINGTON is wholly in his own hand. We take this occasion to extract a passage from a diary of SAMUEL SEWALL, 26 October, 1676, then a tutor at Harvard College, afterwards Judge of the highest court of Judicature in the Province of Massachusetts twenty three years, and Chief Justice eight years more, which proves in a remarkable manner the foresight and enterprize of our fathers. "Mr. Smith [of Sandwich] rode with me, and showed me the place which some had thought to cut, for to make a passage from the South Sea to the North. He said it was about a mile and a half between the utmost flowing of the two seas in Herring River and Scusset, the land very low and level, Herring River exceeding pleasant, by reason that it runs pretty broad, shallow, of an equal depth,

and upon white sand. He shewed me also three hills, on which the four towns kept Warders, before which was such an Isthmus of about three miles, and barren plain, that scarce any thing might pass unseen. Monument harbour said to be very good." Σ.

NEW YORK, June 10th, 1776.

Sir,

CONGRESS having requested my attendance in Philadelphia, I was in that city when your letter of the 11th ult. came to this place—this day's post therefore affords me the first opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of it.

I am hopeful that you applied to General Ward, and have received all the assistance that Mr. Machin could give in determining upon the practicability of cutting a canal between Barnstable and Buzzard's Bay ere this, as the great demand we have for engineers in this department, Canada, &c., has obliged me to order Mr. Machin hither to assist in that branch of business.

I thank you most heartily for your kind congratulations on the departure of the troops from Boston, and am, with very great esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

*Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq.
Boston.*



Report on the Canal, 1776.

THE Committee appointed to get surveyed the isthmus between Barnstable Bay and Buzzard's Bay, in order to ascertain the practicability of cutting a navigable canal between the said bays, have attended that service, and now beg leave to report; that across the said isthmus is a low vale of land, through which a navigable canal may be cut; that the distance across, in the direction of the canal, is near seven miles and an half; that of this

way the elevation of the ground, above low water mark, for about one mile and three quarters, is from four to eight feet perpendicular ; for four miles or a little more, the elevation is from eight to twelve feet ; and for the remainder of the way, about one and a half mile, where the land is highest, the elevation is from twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, twenty, twenty two, twenty four, thirty, up to thirty three feet eight inches perpendicular above low water mark on each side ; that a canal cut these several depths, as the different elevations require, would have a depth of water equal to the rise of the tides on the Barnstable side, which, in common tides, is twelve feet, and in spring tides from fourteen to sixteen feet ; that common tides on the Buzzard's Bay side rise about four feet : spring tides about six feet. The tide rose there, on the 27th of June, four feet and one inch : high water being about half past 4 o'clock, P. M. On the Barnstable side it rose, the same day, about ten feet : high water there being about 8 o'clock, P. M. That this great difference in the rise of the tides and time of high water, which would cause a rapid current from Barnstable Bay into Buzzard's Bay, will make a double lock at each end of the canal necessary, through which, the water being stagnant by means of these locks, vessels could have an easy passage. That the surveyor, Mr. Machin, who has been much employed in works of this sort in England, has made a calculation of the expense, amounting to £32,148, 1, 8, the particulars of which he has entered on his plan of the survey, which is herewith exhibited. There are several shoals on the Buzzard's Bay side, which Mr. Machin had not time to examine, being in the Continental service, and ordered to New York by Gen. Washington ; but which we think Col. Freeman, one of the Committee, who lives near the said bay, should be, if the honourable Court thought proper, directed to get examined, in order to determine their situation and the depth of water over them, and the navigability of that part of the said bay ; and to do the like on the Barnstable side.

If there be a sufficient depth of water in that part of Buzzard's Bay, your Committee are of opinion that the

cutting a navigable canal across the said isthmus is very practicable, and would be a great security to the navigation to and from the southern United States, not only against an enemy, but by affording the means of avoiding the dangers of the shoals in passing round Cape Cod. But as the expense of erecting the said canal would be great, and the benefit of it would be general, your Committee think it merits the consideration of the honourable Continental Congress, and therefore humbly propose to your Honours that, when the necessary information is had with regard to the navigableness of Buzzard's Bay to the southerly end of the canal, as delineated on the plan, the said plan or a copy of it, accompanied with every necessary information, should be sent to the Congress for their consideration.

—◆—

Estimate, which accompanied the preceding Report.

No. 1.	A double lock, - - -	1,500
2.	1 mile and a quarter cutting, at 12 feet deep, contains 162,272 yards, at 6 <i>d.</i> per yard, -	4,056 16
3.	53,460 yards, at 6 <i>d.</i> per yard,	1,336 10
4.	A draw, or swivel bridge, -	300
5.	Is 6 furlongs, from 12 feet 6 in. to 18 feet 8 in.—contains 134,112 solid yards, at 7 <i>d.</i> per yard,	3,911 12
6.	Is 2 furlongs on the summit— 117,480 solid yards at 9 <i>d.</i> per yard, - - - - -	4,405 10
7.	Is 2 furlongs, at 22 feet deep, 76,120 solid yards, at 8 <i>d.</i> per yard, - - - - -	2,537 6 8
8.	13 furlongs, at 6 feet deep, 43,758 yards, at 6 <i>d.</i> per yard, - -	1,093 19
Amount carried over,		7.19,141 13 8

	Brought over,	l.19,141	13	8
No. 9.	A swivel bridge, - - -	300		
10.	1 mile, at 12 feet deep, 121,704 solid yards, at 6 <i>d.</i> per yard,	3,042	12	
11.	4 furlongs long, at 14 feet deep, is 110,880 solid yards, at 6 <i>d.</i> per yard, - - -	2,772		
12.	162,272 solid yards, at 6 <i>d.</i> per yard, - - -	4,056	16	
13.	A double lock, - - -	1,500		
	300 barrows, at 9 <i>s.</i> each, -	135		
	Deal plank, - - -	200		
	Extra's, - - -	1,000		
		l.32,148 1 8		

From low water mark on the Buzzard's Bay side, to the summit, rises 33 feet 8 inches and 9-10ths. From the summit to low water mark, on Barnstable Bay side, fall 33 feet 4 inches,—the common tide, according to Mr. Pope's observations, flows 9 feet 2 inches ; but most common tides flow 12 feet.

By the help of two double locks, a canal may be made with 14 feet of water, viz. 12 feet cutting and 2 feet banks, through the flats.

THOMAS MACHIN.

AN ORIGINAL LETTER OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

(Superscribed)

*To my much honoured kind friend the Gov. Bradstreet,
at Boston,—Present.*

PROVIDENCE, 6 May, 1682, (ut vulgo.)

Sir,

YOUR person and place are born to trouble as the sparks flie upward ; yet I am grieved to disturb your thoughts or hands with any thing from me, and yet am

refreshed with the thought that sometimes you subscribe [your willing servant:] and that your love and willingness will turn to your account also.

Sir, by John Whipple of Providence I wrote lately (though the letter lay long by him) touching the widow Messinger's daughter Sarah Weld of Boston, whom I believe Jo : Homan of Boston hath miserably deluded, slandered, oppressed (her and his child) by barbarous inhumanity so that I humbly hope your mercy and justice will gloriously in publike kiss each other.

Sir, this inclosed tells you that being old and weake and bruised (with a rupture and collick) and lameness on both my feet; I am directed by the Father of our spirits to desire to attend his infinite Majesty with a poor mite (which makes but two farthings) by my fire side I have recollected the discourses which (by many tedious journeys) I have had with the scattered English at Nahiggonset before the war and since. I have reduced them unto those twenty two heads (inclosed) which is near thirty sheets of my writing: I would send them to the Nahiggonset and others, there is no controversie in them, only an endeavour of a particular match of each poore sinner to his Maker. For printing I am forced to write to my friends at Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and our own colony, that he that hath a shilling and an heart to countenance and promote such a soule work may trust the great Paymaster (who is beforehand with us already) for an hundreth for one in this life. Sir, I have many friends at Boston, but pray you to call in my kind friends Capt. Brattle and Mr. Seth Perry, who may by your wise discretions, ease yourselfe of any burthen: I write to my honoured acquaintance at Roxbury Mr. Dudley and Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Stoughton at Dorchester, and to Capt. Gookins at Cambridge, and pray yourself and him to consult about a little helpe from Charls Towne where death has stript me of all my acquaintance. Sir, if you can return that chapter of my Reply to G——ton, concerning New England, I am advised to let it sleep, and forbear publick contests with Protestants, since it is the designe of Hell and Rome to cut the throats of all the

protesters in the world. Yet I am occasioned in this booke to say much for the honour and peace of New England.

Sir, I shall humbly wait for your advice where *best* it may *be* best be printed at Boston or Cambridge, and for how much, the printer finding paper. We have tidings here of Shaftsbury's and Howard's beheading, and contrarily, their release, London manifestations of joy, and the King's calling a parliament. But all these are but sublunaries, temporaries and trivials. Eternitie (O Eternitie) is our business, to which end I am most unworthy to be

Your willing and faithful servant,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

My humble respects to Mrs. Bradstreete, and other honoured friends.

[In O. S. Coll. MSS.]

AN ESTIMATE OF THE CHARGES OF THE PROVINCE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, FOR THE YEAR 1764.

WAGES per establishment for Castle William, Fort Halifax, Fort Pownal and Sloop Massachusetts in the service,	4,500
Commissary's disbursements for purchasing provisions and other necessary stores for the forts and garrisons,	3,000
His excellency's salary, judges', secretary's, president, treasurer, commissary, professors, speaker, clerks, chaplain, door-keeper, bounties, stipends, repairs of the light house, province and court house,	10,000
Where there is no establishment, as for paper, printing, surgeons, wooding Castle William, repairs of the fortifications,	3,500
Carried up,	1.21,000

	Brought up,	l.21,000
For contingencies that may demand prompt payment,	- - - - -	200
The honourable Council, and House of Representatives, pay, serving in the General Court during several sessions,		2,300
Bounty on wheat,	- - - - -	1,000
		l.24,500

Errours Excepted,
THOMAS HUBBARD.

[From the papers of the late Thomas Fayerweather, Esq. of Cambridge.]

THE NEW LIFE OF VIRGINEA.

[This curious little tract, of which mention can be found neither in the Bibliotheca Americana, nor in the American Library, is republished from a copy in the Boston Atheneum, a repository for scarce books relating to our country not excelled perhaps by any other in the world.]

THE NEW LIFE OF VIRGINEA:

Declaring the former successes and present estate of that plantation, being the second part of Nova Britannia.

Published by the authoritie of his Majesties Counsell of Virginea.

LONDON, Imprinted by Felix Kyngston for William Welby, dwelling at the signe of the Swan in Pauls Churchyard. 1612.



To the right Worshipful and worthie Knight Sir Thomas Smith of London, Governour of the Moscovia and East India Companies, one of his Majesties Counsell for Virginea, and Treasurer for the Colony: Peace and health in Christ.

IT is come to passe (right Worshipful) with the businesse and plantation of Virginea, as it is commonly scene in the attempt and progresse of all other most excellent

things, (which is) to be accompanied with manifold difficulties, crosses and disasters, being such as are appointed by the highest providence, as an exercise of patience and other vertues, and to make more wise thereby the managers thereof: by which occasion not only the ignorant and simple minded are much discouraged, but the malicious and looser sort (being accompanied with the licentious vaine of stage Poets) have whet their tongues with scornfull taunts against the action it selfe, in so much as there is no common speech nor publike name of any thing this day, (except it be the name of God) which is more wildly depraved, traduced and derided by such unhallowed lips, then the name of Virginea. For which cause (right noble Knight) I have set my selfe to publish this briefe apollogie to the sight and view of all men, not to answer any such in their particular folly, but to free the name it selfe from the injurious scoffer, and this commendable enterprize from the scorne and derision of any such, as by ignorance or malice have sought the way to wrong it. Which albeit I am well assured will no way availle to admonish or amend the incorrigible loosenes of such untamed tongues, yet shall I hold mine endeavours well acquitted, if I may but free your selfe, and so many right noble, and well affected gentlemen (touching the former ill successe) from wrongfull imputation, as also satisfie the despairing thoughts, and quicken the zeal of such friends and lovers to this businesse, as in their remote and forraine residence, by the spreading of rumours and false reports doe rest unsatisfied. Wherein (as I hope) not to exceed the bounds of modestie and truth, so for orders sake I have set it down in a briefe method of three parts. The first is nothing else but a briefe relating of things alreadie done and past: The second, of the present estate of the businesse: And the third doth tend as a premonition to the planters and adventurers for the time to come.

And this I offer to the patronage of your Worship alone, being the chieftest patron of this and of many more worthie services: wherein I presume not any way to counsell or direct your wisdom in your further pro-

ceedings, whom long experience in Common-wealth affaires (besides that abilitie and wisdom of minde infused by God) hath made most able and sufficient of your selfe to direct many others, but as wishing heereby (if I might in some measure) to ease the burthen of your mind, under the wise and painfull managing of your many publike actions : for which I pray that God will please, to continue still your health and strength of body, with answerable successe, to your honest, wise, and most approved desires.

R. I.

The New Life of Virginea.

IN that most sacred historie penned by the Prophet Moses, (the first historian that ever wrote, and left his writings to posteritie) it is recorded, that when the pride of earthlie men, in the race and progenie of Noah, began to aspire and sought to clime the Celestial throne; it so highly provoked the Majestie of God, that consulting with the Deitie, and comming downe by his word and almightie power, he subverted their devices and proud attempt, infatuating their understanding by confounding their tongues, and leaving each one to his severall waies, to follow the pronesse and follie of his owne heart, so that from this scattering and casting them out like unprofitable seed upon the dust of the earth, did spring up (as weeds in solitarie places) such a barbarous and unfruitful race of mankinde, that even to this day (as is very probable) many huge and spacious Countries and corners of the world unknowne, doe still swarme and abound with the innumerable languages of this dispersed crue, with their inhumane behaviour and brutish conditions, and howsoever God laying this heavie curse and punishment upon them, that for the space of three thousand yeares and more, did never vouchsafe the hand of the weeder, to clense and give redresse to so desolate and outgrowne wilderness of humane nature, yet such is his eternall purpose, who in his owne appointed time, doth reskue the brand

from burning and the prey from the Lions teeth, that like as we our selves and our forefathers (the first fruites of the Gentiles, who were all guilty of that great conspiracie) which were strangers from the Commonwealth of Israel, and lived long time without God in the world, were yet at length reduced home to that familie of saints and sonnes of God, so now appeareth the same grace, which God out of his secret counsell begins to extend and give to the remnants of those scattered Gentiles, our kinsmen and younger brethren (as I may say) the sundrie nations of America: which as they consist of infinite confused tongues and people, that sacrifice their children to serve the divel, as those heathens did their sonnes
 Levit. 20. 2. and daughters to Molech: yet who can doubt or say, but even amongst these, God may have his speciall numbers, from whose neckes hee will now remove that heavie yoke of bondage; and to that end it is to be observed, when after that great apostacie foretold by the spirit of God, and which for many hundred yeares had almost drowned the christian world in superstition and Idolatrie; God that raised up her Majestie, our late Soveraigne, and put into her heart, by wholesome lawes to wipe away that mist of popish dimnes from our eyes, whereby we saw the light more cleare, did likewise move her Princely mind to proffer that light to this blinde and miserable people, in giving the first encouragement by our English Colonies to make plantation there, and according to her selfe, and the condition of her sexe, she named the Countrey Virginea: which mee thinkes should enforce from them that love the monuments of her never dying memoire, a fervent bond of zeale to that name and worke of God, the ground whereof was laid by her, the happinesse of whose raigne was our unspeakable joy, and will be derived to our posteritie.

And howsoever God pleased not to suffer the performance of that excellent worke in her daies (as hee likewise denied King David, whose purpose and preparation was to have built a Temple for the Lord) yet hee raised up (like Salomon) the best and wisest among the sonnes of men to be our King, and hath bent his royall disposition,

by many gracious privileges, and giving his customes freely, to build this Temple for the Lord, yea many living temples for the honour of his name.

What shall wee then say, when thus the powers of heaven and earth encouraged the enterprize, and stirred up the spirits of worthy men, not the basest, but of the best and most honorable minded in the kingdome, to engage themselves to sollicite their friends to assemble and consult advisedly how to replant this unnatural vine to make it fruitfull, when they looked to heaven they saw a promise, and looking to earthward they saw a blessing. And albeit in that infancie their numbers were but small, yet their willing resolution supplying that want, they made out 3. shippes with Captaine Newport, for a discoverie, who within few monethes returned with relation of a countrie discovered and seated like that pleasant land described by Moses, the stones whereof were brasse and iron, whose mountaines, vallies and streams did all attend some good employment, that they saw a poore people living there in the shadow of death, without light or sense of their owne miserie, and that there wanted nothing but industrie and art to adde to nature.

Upon which encouragement new supplies were made; with expedition some few hundreds of our men were left there by Captaine Newport, with al kind of provisions and directions for the ground and foundation of a Common-wealth. Their barbarous king Powhatan entertained them lovingly, and admitted them a large countrie to inhabit, the poore Savages brought them such relief as they had; our owne people wrote letters home in praise of the countrie, and labored their friends to come thither, thay began to fortifie where they saw convenient, they built a Church and many houses together, which they named James Towne, they nourished their swine, hens, and other provisions they carried out of England, which plentifully encreased: they cut downe wood for wanscot, blacke walnut tree, Spruce, Cedar and Deale, they got rich furs, dying stuffe, minerals and iron ore (which made excellent good iron) they planted orange trees, corne, and sundrie kindes of seeds, they made Sope ashes and Tar,

with some Sturgeon and Caveare, and of each of these they sent us small quantities, with store of Sassafrasse, and some wine of those countrie grapes for a triall: all which being the work but of a small number, not fully settled, gave sufficient testimony what might bee effected there by settling good government, and sending more supplies of men, and meanes to plant the soile and make discoveries.

This happy proceeding caused the action to be accounted as wonne, and caused so many willing minds to adventure their monies, that there wanted not sufficient meanes, to furnish out a fleet of 9. good ships, with the better part of five hundred men to inhabit there. Sir Thomas Gates being Lieutenant generall, and Sir George Sommers Admirall of Virginea, both of them appointed by commission to reside in the countrie to governe the Colonie, which together set saile and departed the coast of England with a faire wind the first of June 1609.

But who can withstand the counsell of God that sits in the stearne of all actions, and so directed this present fleet, that before they came neere the coast of Virginea, the ship named the Sea Venture, being also Admiral of the fleet, wherein were shipped the two Knights before named, and Captaine Newport with an hundred and fiftie persons, was violently taken and carried with the rage of tempestuous stormes, without hope or likelihood of life at least an hundred leagues to the sowthward, till they arrived upon the desperate shore of the Ilands of Bermudus, where betweene two rockes the ship split in peeces, and yet by the miraculous hand of God and industrie of the Captaines, all the people escaped safe to land and not a man perished.

Of whose long abode and preservation in these broken deserts, and of their strange and wonderfull deliverie thence, it is already related and published by Sir Thomas Gates, and so I returne to the other eight ships, which escaping the danger of seas arived at the port, and landed their men in Virginea.

By which meanes the body of the plantation, was now augmented with such numbers of irregular persons, that

it soone became as so many members without a head, who as they were bad and evill affected^r for the most part before they went hence ; so now being landed, and wanting restraint, they displaid their condition in al kind of loosenes, those chiefe and wisest guides among them (whereof there were not many) did nothing but bitterly contend who should be first to command the rest, the common sort, as is ever seene in such cases, grew factious and disordered out of measure, in so much as the poore Colonie seemed (like the Colledge of English fugitives in Rome) as a hostile Campe within it selfe : in which distemper that envious man stept in, sowing plentifull tares in the hearts of all, which grew to such speedie confusion, that in few moneths, Ambition, sloth and idlenes had devoured the fruits of former labours, planting and sowing were cleane given over, the houses decayed, the Church fell to ruine, the store was spent, the cattell consumed, our people starved, and the poore Indians by wrongs and injuries were made our enemies, two of the ships returning home perished upon the point of Ushant, the rest of the fleet came ship after ship, laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement : and which added the more to our crosse, they brought us newes that the Admirall ship, with the two Knights and Captaine Newport were missing, severed in a mightie storme outward, and could not be heard of, which we therefore yeelded as lost for many moneths together, and so that Virgine voyage (as I may tearme it) which went out smiling on her lovers with pleasant lookes, after her wearie travailes, did thus returne with a rent and disfigured face : for which how justly her friends tooke occasion of sorrow, and others to insult and scoffe, let men of reason judge. And as for those wicked Impes that put themselves a shipboord, not knowing otherwise how to live in England ; or those ungratious sons that dailie vexed their fathers hearts at home, and were therefore thrust upon the voyage, which either writing thence, or being returned back, to cover their own leudnes doe fill mens eares with false reports of their miserable and perilous life in Virginea, let the im-

Parsons letter
in the Quod-
libets.

putation of miserie be to their idlenes, and the blood that was spilt upon their own heads that caused it.

And howsoever it is true, that upon these events many adventurers which had formerly well affected the businesse, when they saw such unexpected tragedies withdrew themselves and their monies from adventure. Notwithstanding it lessened much the preparation, yet it

hindered not the resolution of that honourable Lord (appointed Lord Governour) to goe in his owne person, who together with the rest of the adventurers assisting his setting forth, having in their wisdomes rightlie weighed, that to the desired end of all good actions in this life, the way doth lie as well, with rough and craggie steps as smooth and easie paths, did presently set on with three good ships, wherein the Lord Governour, attended with Sir Ferdinando Wainman and sundry others, set saile from the coast of England, in the beginning of Aprill 1610, and on the 9. of June arrived safely at the disfortified fort in Virginea, where his Lordship finding their desperate condition so poore and meane, and so cleere a consumption of all former employments, that scarcely appeared the steps or print of twenty hundred groats disbursed, which had truly cost the Adventurers here above twentie thousand pounds.

And thus wee stood in state of Marchants that had adventured much and lost all : in which case we might now make answere with King Alexander (having given away al to his Captaines) we had nothing left but hope, and this hope of ours wee fixed much (if not too much) upon that honourable Lord Governour, then landed in Virginea, who as the world and our selves knew right well to be religious and wise, of a strong bodie and valerous minde, and under his wings so confidently reposed the shield of our businesse, that God minding to make us know that our arme was yet but flesh, even in the front of his enterprise overthrew the Nobleman by laying such a heaveie hand of sicknesse and diseases upon him, that unable to weld and support the state of his owne body, much lesse the affaires of the Colonie, he was forced with grieve of heart, through the anguish and dolor of his maladie, and

The Lord la
Warre.

for remedie to save his life, after eight moneths sicknesse to returne for England againe : which when the Adventurers saw that the expectance of such a preparation came to nothing, how great a dampe of coldnesse it wrought in the hearts of all, may easile be deemed.

And yet had we left one sparke of hope unquencht, for before wee knew any such thing of his Lordships weaknesse, or once imagined his returning home, we had furnisht out Sir Thomas Dale with a good supplie of three ships, men, cattell, and many provisions : all which arived safe at the Colonie the 10. of May 1611. And notwithstanding the Knight at his landing there found the Lord Governour to bee gone, whereof he wrote us home most dolefull letters, as also of the fewnesse, idlenesse and weake estate wherein hee found the Colony ; yet decyphered he the country in divers of his letters with admirable praise, giving us notice of his proceeding to fortifie, to build, to plant, and that the health of our men was now recovered by setting them to labour, assuring the adventurers so long as he remained there, their ships should never returne emptie ; his words are these : *But if any thing otherwise then well betide me in this businesse, let me commend unto your carefulnesse, the pursuite and dignitie of this businesse, then which your purses and endeavours will never open nor travell in a more acceptable and meritorious enterprize, take foure of the best kingdomes in Christendome, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this countrie, either for commodities or goodnesse of soile.* And this sparke (I say) so kindled in the hearts of those constant adventurers, that in the greatest disasters never fainted, which having past over so many foule and wearie steps, and seeing now so faire a way before them, bent all their wits and consultations how to second this good beginning of such a settled government. And after many meetings, when they could resolve upon no great supplie for want of meanes, the discouragement of many being such by former ill successe, yet in fine it was resolved ; through the importunate zeale and forwardnesse of some, against the opin-

The words of
Sir Thomas
Dales letter to
the Commit-
ties.

ion of many, without delay to furnish out Sir Thomas Gates with sixe shippes, three hundred men and an hundred kine, with other cattell, munition and provisions of all sorts ; which notwithstanding it grew so deepe an engagement of our purses and credits, that for the present wee knew not how to discharge it, yet assuredly it hath proved (as wee hope) the most fortunate and happie steppe that ever our businesse tooke, and hath highly approved the wisdome and resolution of those worthy gentlemen that were the causers of it : and so at this period, as with a cleare evening to a cloudie day, I will put an end to this my first part of relating things already done and past.

Lord General
Cecill, Sir Ro-
bert Mansell
and some
others.

The second part ensueth of the present estate of the businesse, upon which point I know that all mens eares are now most attent, for which I must be sparing to speake so much as might bee said, for surely men will not beleieve (though nature daily shew it in other courses) that in this case yet, so great a tide of flowing should suddenly ensue so great an ebbe of want, in last December Captaine Newport in the Starre, and since that five other shippes are arived heere from the Colonie, by which we know that Sir Thomas Gates with his sixe shippes, men and cattell, safelie arived at James Towne, about the fine of August last, the suddaine approach of such an unlooked for supplie, did so amaze our people, when the Fort had first descried the Fleete, and gave it out for enemies, that so soone as the newes went up the river to Sir Thomas Dale, he being a warlike and resolute Captaine, prepared him instantly and all the rest for an encounter, which by how much the suddaine apprehension perplexed their minds for the present, yet so much the more exceeded their comfort, when they knew them to be friends.

When they had all things well landed, and given thanks to God, the Knights and Captaines now began to frame the Colonie to a new conformitie, whereof the Lord Governour at his being there, most carefullie had more then laide the ground before, their first and chiefest

care was shewed in setting Lawes divine and morall, for the honour and service of God, for daily frequenting the Church, the house of prayer, at the tolling of the bell, for preaching, catechizing, and the religious observation of the Sabbath day, for due reverence to the Ministers of the Word, and to all superiours, for peace and love among themselves, and enforcing the idle to paines and honest labours, against blasphemie, contempt and dishonour of God, against breach of the Sabbath by gaming: and otherwise against adulterie, sacriledge and felonie; and in a word, against all wrongfull dealing amongst themselves, or injurious violence against the Indians. Good are these beginnings, wherein God is thus before, good are these lawes, and long may they stand in their due execution. But what is this (will some object) if wholesome lodging, cloathing for the backe and bodilie foode be wanting, the bellie pincht with hunger cannot heare, though your charme be otherwise never so sweet. All this was true, we have already confest it, when there was nothing but a confused troope that sought their owne consumption, *tempora mutantur*.

You shall know that our Colonie consisteth now of seven hundred men at least, of sundrie arts and professions, some more or lesse, they stand in health, and few sicke, at the ships comming thence, having left the fort at Cape Henry, fortified and kept by Captaine Davies, and the keeping of James towne to that noble and well deserving Gentleman Master George Percie. The Colonie is removed up the river fourscore miles further beyond James towne to a place of higher ground, strong and defencible by nature, a good aire, wholesome and cleere (unlike the marish seate at James towne) with fresh and plentie of water springs, much faire and open grounds freed from woods, and wood enough at hand.

He went thither five yeeres since in the first ship.

Being thus invited, here they pitch, the spade men fell to digging, the brick men burnt their bricks, the company cut down wood, the Carpenters fell to squaring out, the Sawyers to sawing, the Souldier to fortifying, and every man to somewhat. And to answer the first objec-

tion for wholesome lodging, here they have built competent and decent houses, the first storie all of bricks, that every man may have his lodging and dwelling place apart by himselfe, with a sufficient quantitie of ground allotted thereto for his orchard and garden to plant at his pleasure, and for his own use. Here they were building also an Hospitall with fourescore lodgings (and beds already sent to furnish them) for the sicke and lame, with keepers to attend them for their comfort and recoverie. And as for their clothing, first of wollen (whereof they have least need, because the countrie is very warme) it is and must be alwaies supplied from hence, to the benefit of English clothing: but for linnen, which they shall most need, without doubt by small and easie industrie there may amount a great increase from thence, to furnish by way of merchandise, for England, not only by planting Hemp and Flax, which that climate maketh farre surpassing ours, both in growth and goodnesse, but by a new found stuffe of a certaine sedge or water flagge (revealed unto them by an Indian) which groweth there naturally in endlesse abundance, and with little paines of boyling, it being gathered, yeeldeth great quantitie of sundrie sorts of skeines of good strength and length, some like silke, and some like flax, and some a courser sort, as hempe: whereof the last ships brought hither for a triall about two hundred pound waight; which being put to triall heere (as many can witnesse which have seene it) wil make cordage, linnen, and fine stuffes both for strength and beautie, such as no use nor service can finde the like of any other kinde.

And for the last and maine objection of food, it cannot be denied by any one of reason, but with their now diligent planting and sowing of corne (whereof they have two harvests in a sommer) the plentifull fishing there, the store of fowles and fruits of the earth, their present provision sent from hence at every shipping, together with the speedy increase of those sundrie sorts of tame Poultry, Conies, Goats, Swine and Kine landed there above a yere agoe with Sir Thomas Dale, and since againe by Sir Thomas Gates, that this objection too, this maine objec-

tion of wanting food is utterly remooved : so that I cannot see, nor any man else can judge in truth, but that ill and odious wound of Virginea, which settled so deepe a scarre in the mindes of many, is so sufficiently recovered, as it may now encourage not such alone (as heretofore) which cannot live at home, nor lay their bones to labour, but those of honest minds and better sort, which get their bread but meanly heere, may seek to mend it there. Captaine Samuel Argoll, a Gentleman of good service, is readie with two ships.

The Lord Governour himselfe is now preparing to goe in his owne person, and sundrie other Knights and Gentlemen, with ships and men, so farre as our meanes will extend to furnish : and for preventing that wrong, which some Masters and Stewards have formerly done to their passengers at sea, in shortening their allowance, for their owne private lucar, it is ordered that every ship upon her mast shall have it written, what ought to be every daies allowance, that every one may see it, and no man be defrauded. And thus much briefly for the present condition of this plantation.

Sir W. S.
Sir R. W.

It followes now to conclude with the third and last division directed to the Colonie : And first to you the heads and guides of that plantation, it cannot be doubted, but as you are wise and provident men you tooke this worke in hand, forecasting wisely that the price thereof might be no lesse then the care of your mindes, the labour of your bodies, and perill of your lives. And seeing you are sure of nothing more then the extremest lots, which either the barren coldnesse of such a naked action in the infancie thereof, or the malice of divellish men can cast upon you, arme your selves therefore against all impediments, to effect those honorable ends that were first intended *to be put upon our King, upon our nation, and Christian religion*, by that plantation. If the work be more hard and difficult then you took it for, and that you must like Hannibal (piercing the stony Alpes) make cleare the way to your desired ends with fire and vinegar ; will not your honour be the greater, and your ser-

vice more acceptable in the performance of it? Nay, if losse of life befall you by this service (which God forbid) yet in this case too, we doubt not but you are resolved with constant courage, like that noble King Henry the fift, before his triumphant victorie in the fields of Agincourt, where seeing the fewnesse of his own, and multitude of enemies, like a valiant Champion to stir up his little Armie against that great conflict; *Be cheered my hearts* (said he) *and let us fight like English men, all England prayeth for us: if here we dye, let this be our comfort, our cause is good, and wee have fathers, brothers, friends and countrimen that wil revenge our deaths.*

Your first conflict is from your savage enemies the natives of the Countrey, who as you know are neither strong nor many; their strongest forces are sleights and trecherie, more to be warily prevented than much to be feared. But as for those your other friends, which challenge it all as theirs by deed of gift, not from Alexander the Great King of Macedonia, but from Alexander of Rome, Viceroy of that great Prince, which offered at once the whole world to have himselfe adored, which (as is said) doe brute it out in all mens eares to pull you out of possession; you know they are but men, and such as your selves can well remember, that in all attempts against our late Soveraigne, God defeated their purposes, and brought them to nothing. But howsoever it fared then,

Their wisdom
is such as they
will offer you
no wrong.

(God in mercy shielding that gracious Queen, that no attempt could touch her little finger, nor worke her least dishonour) yet I am no Prophet to warrant now, but God (for causes knowne to him) may give you as a prey into the hands of the weakest, yet herein rest assured, and it cannot possible bee otherwise, but that the zeale of this action hath discovered such and so many worthie spirits of all degrees in England to be upholders of it, as for their credits sake and reputation, will never leave you without convenient meanes to make defence, nor your least indignitie by savage foes or civil friends will suffer unrequited. There is laid upon you in this worke a threefold labour to be done upon your selves, upon your

English, and upon the poore Indians. And first upon yourselves; for all mens eares and eyes are so fixed upon Kings and Rulers, that they keepe a register in minde of what ever they doe or speake, the better sort of love to imitate their goodnes, and the looser sort of flatterie to applaud their wickednes and sooth them in their vices: when your wholesom lawes shall have no execution, when you shall publish and pretend for the honour of God, and good of the publike weale, and yet shall care for neither of both, but be loose in your owne course of life, giving way to ambition, idlenesse, and all unbridled appetite, to your tongues in swearing, to your bodies in unchastity, making your owne Courts and houses cages of proud, uncleane and all disordered persons, enforcing the good to pine away with grief, and advancing men of bad deserts, accounting it happie to doe what you list, when no man dares reprove you; miserie and confusion will be the end of this, and you shal leave for your monuments shame and dishonour behinde you to all posteritie.

But if, like wise and prudent guides, as we do rightly esteeme you, in rearing this great frame, you shall lay the foundation in your owne steps, and by your owne example shall teach your inferiours the feare of God, and by your modest recreations, and commendable labours shall leade them on to doe the like, especially in that most wholesome, profitable and pleasant work of planting, in which it pleased God himself to set the first man and most excellent creature Adam in his innocencie, to which the best Kings of Israel were most addicted, and by which so many kingdoms are much enriched, and for which the noble King Cyrus that great Monarch is so much commended, whose glorie was to all ambassadors and forraine States (nothwithstanding his being a Souldier and a Conquerour of great employment) in shewing the comelie order of his owne handie worke. When thus your light shall guide their feete, sweete will that harmonie be betweene the head and members of the bodie, then may sleepe the rigour of your lawes, and you shal resemble the best and wisest sort of Kings, which by the influence

of their grace and love doe dailie cure consumptions, melancholies and evill effected mindes, as also make their hearts more honest and upright, and then that worke (though burnt as stubble heretofore) yet being thus groundd shal abide, you shall live in honour and die in peace; the succeeding ages of those converted Infidels shall count you happy, and that precious seed which you have sowne in teares, shal be as blessed sheaves upon your heads for ever.

The next is dutie towards your Colonie (the common sort of English) and that in few words, let them live as free English men, under the government of just and equall lawes, and not as slaves after the will and lust of any superiour: discourage them not in growing religious, nor in gathering riches, two especiall bonds (whether severed or conjoined) to keepe them in obedience, the one for conscience sake, the other for feare of losing what they have gotten: without the first they are prophane, without the second desperate, and apt for every factious plot to bee instruments of mischief. Such have alwaies bin the beggarly, ignorant and superstitious sort of Irish, and no better were we our English (and Scottish nation too) ever unquiet, never constant, readie for insurrections and murther, to depose their Kings, and maintaine rebellion, before the daies of that renowned Deborah our late Sovereigne, that shining starre, the splendour of whose brightness, darkned the glorie of all other Princes in her time (as even popish historians of sundrie forraine Nations tearme her) who brought us to that light, whereby wee live as men of knowledge in due subjection, enjoying honour, peace and wealth, the handmaids of religion.

We must confesse as yet you are but poore, your companie few, and your meanes unable to effect those ends in any great measure. But for the first steppe, you have some Preachers there already, and more wee intend to send you so soone as they may be provided. And for the second, the land is before you to dispose to every man for his house and ground, wherein to employ himselfe for his owne benefit, that no

For which sort
of men we wish
we had better
content to
give them, or
they were
more willing
for the service.

man may live idle nor unprofitable. And for their better encouragement in doing well, advance all such of best disposed life, and none but such: and though your preferments be not great, nor your Common-wealth settled, yet now is most need of these admonitions: for in the beginning and prime of your businesse, whiles you are but young and few, those succeeding enormities of briberie, drunkennesse and disordered life, may sooner be prevented, then having once got habite and footing amongst you they can be redressed: for if in laying now the ground worke of your businesse, you suffer it to be smothered up together with impunitie of vices, (as seeds and roots of noisome weeds) they will soon spring up to such corruption in all degrees as can never bee weeded out.

And for the poore Indians what shall I say, but God that hath many waies shewed mercie to you, make you shew mercie to them and theirs. And howsoever they may seeme unto you so intollerable wicked and rooted in mischief, that they cannot be moved, yet consider rightly and be not discouraged, they are no worse than the nature of Gentiles, and even of those Gentiles so hainouslie decyphered by S. Paul to bee Rom. 1. full of wickednesse, haters of God, doers of wrong, such as could never be appeased, and yet himselfe did live to see, that by the fruits of his owne labours, many thousands even of them became true beleiving Christians, and of whose race and offspring consisteth (well neere) the whole Church of God at this day. This is the worke that we first intended, and have publisht to the world to be chiefe in our thoughts to bring those infidell people from the worship of Divels to the service of God. And this is the knot that you must untie, or cut asunder, before you can conquer those sundrie impediments, that will surely hinder all other proceedings, if this be not first preferred.

Take their children and traine them up with gentlesse, teach them our English tongue, and the principles of religion; winne the elder sort by wisdom and discretion, make them equal with your English in case of protection wealth and habitation, doing justice on such

as shall doe them wrong. Weapons of warre are needfull, I grant, but for defence only, and not in this case. If you seeke to gaine this victorie upon them by stratagems of warre, you shall utterly lose it, and never come neere it, but shall make your names odious to all their posteritie. In steed of Iron and steele you must have patience and humanitie to manage their crooked nature to your form of civilitie: for as our proverbe is, Looke how you winne them, so you must weare them: if by way of peace and gentlenesse, then shall you alwaies range them in love to you wards, and in peace with your English people; and by proceeding in that way, shall open the springs of earthly benefits to them both, and of safetie to your selves.

Imitating the steppes of your wise and prudent Sovereigne, and preparing the way of peace (so much as lies in you) before the second comming of that King of peace, at whose first comming into this earthly region the world was all in peace, under the peaceable regiment of Augustus Cæsar, who though an unbeleeving Heathen, yet of such excellent morall vertues, as might set to schoole many Christian Kings and Rulers, whose care and studie for the safety, peace and Common-wealth of his Empire, gat him such honour in his life, and love of all his subjects, that being dead, his losse was so lamented with excesse of grieve and sorrow, but most amongst the Romanes, that they wisht to God hee had never been borne, or being borne, hee might never have died.

And so I come to you that be the Adventurers here in England: with which I will conclude, it is not much above an hundred yeeres agoe, that these Adventures for discoveries were first undertaken by the Southerne parts of Christendome, but especially so seconded and followed by the Spanish nation both to the East and West Indies, that Mendoza (their countriman) in his treatise of Warre, extolleth King Philip and the Spanish nation above the skies, for seeking in such sort to inlarge their bounds by sea and land, seeming (as it were) with a secret scorne to set out the basenesse of our English and other nations in this, that they never intend any such attempts, but with a

kind of sluggish contentment, doe account it their happinesse to keepe that poore little which they possesse. Indeed wee must acknowledge it, with praise to God, that when some of theirs had cast an evill eye upon our possessions, it was our happinesse to prevent their longing, and to send them emptie home. Ireland.

But for that other part of inlarging their bounds, in truth their praise is duly given, and well deserved : and it may justly serve to stirre us up by all our means to put off such reproachfull censures ; and seeing when time did offer it, our nation lost the first opportunity of having all, yet now to make good that common speech, that English men are best at imitation, and doe soone excell their teachers.

It is knowne well enough to you, what need we have in this case, to stirre up (if it were possible) our whole nation : for notwithstanding wee have in our Letters Patents, the names of many Lords and Knights, Gentlemen, Marchants and others, able in truth to performe a greater matter than this, if we were al of one mind ; but as they are many, so I may divide them as thus into three equall parts : The one third part are such as tooke liking of the plantation, and brought in one adventure, expecting a while till they saw some disasters to accompanie the businesse, whereas they looked for present gaine, and so they gave it over, bidding it adiew, and never lookt after it more. Another third part are such as came in, and with their own hands did underwrite to furnish three adventures in three yeeres : whereof some few of them have paid the first paiment, but refuse to pay the rest ; yet most of them, notwithstanding they are tied by their owne hand writing (whereby a very great charge was undertaken by the Companie) doe utterly refuse to make any paiment at all : which if it proceeded out of their povertie it were not so much to be blamed ; for wee presse no man out of his inability to wrong himselfe : but these are of the greater sort, such as would scorne to have it said they offer wrong in hazarding the losse of all, and the lives of many men. I doubt not but some reasonable course will be taken by your honourable wise-

domes to make them see their error : in the meane time, I know not how to call this kinde of dealing. But I remember of one that takes upon him to describe king Richard usurper, and comming to his visage, he saith it was sterne, such as in Kings we call warlike, but in meaner men crabbed. Surely if this kind of fast and loose were plaid by men of meaner sort, I could soone tell how to tearme it : but if you will needes have it warlike, in respect of their sterne refusall, yet let it be crabbed too, because of their sower lookes when they see the Collectors come for mony.

So that of all our Adventurers, I may well say there is but one third part, which (to their praise) from the first undertaking to this day have not ceased to give their counsels, spend their times, and lay downe their monies, omitting no occasion to expresse their zeale for effecting (if it may be possible) so great a worke for their King and Countries honour, as our nation never tooke the like in hand. And for this cause, the burthen being heavier than may well be borne by the shoulders of so few willing mindes, wee do still provoke our private friends, and have now obtained the helpe of publike Lotteries to maintaine the same. Which though it bee no usuall course in England, yet very common in divers neighbour countries, for the publike service of most commendable actions, wherein no man being compelled to adventure lots further than his owne liking, and being assured of direct and currant dealing, though all his lots come blanke ; yet if his minde be upright, he rests content in this, that his money goeth to a publike worke, wherein he hath his part of benefit, though he, never so meane and remote in his dwelling.

And if any man aske, what benefit can this plantation be to them that be no Adventurers therein, but only in the Lottery ? First, we say, (setting aside their possibilitie of prize) what man so simple that doth not see the necessitie of employment for our multitude of people ? which though they be our flourishing fruits of peace and health, yet be they no longer good and wholesome in themselves, then either our domesticke or forraine actions can

make them profitable, or not hurtfull to the Commonwealth.

And as it is impossible without this course of sending out the offspring of our families, in so great a bodie of many millions, which yeerely doe increase amongst us, to prevent their manifold diseases of povertie, corruption of minde, and pestilent infection, so the burthen thereof in some proportion is felt by every man in his private calling, either in the taxe of their maintenance and daily reliefe, or in the taint of their vices and bodily plagues. And by this meanes only it may soone be eased, to the sensible good of every man, as in the greater safetie and freedom from infection, so in the price and plentie of all outward and necessarie things.

And besides the example of our neighbour countries, (that having laid their armes aside, and dwelling now in peace, to shunne the harmes of idlenesse at home, doe send out fleetes and hosts of men to seeke abroad) experience teacheth us, what need we have to seeke some world of new employment; for so great a part of our strength, which not otherwise knowing how to live, doe daily runne out to robberies, at home, and piracies abroad, arming and serving with Turkes and Infidels against Christians, to the generall damage and spoile of Merchants, the scandall of our nation and reproch of Christian name. As also for the wits of England, whereof so many of unsettled braines betake themselves to plots and stratagems at home, or else to wander from coast to coast, from England to Spaine, to Italy, to Rome, and to where-soever they may learne and practise any thing else but goodnesse, pulling a world of temptations upon their bad dispositions, sorting so farre with that enchanting sorts of serpents, and yeelding to their lure, till getting the marke and stampe in their forehead, they become desperate and despiteful fugitives abroad, or else returning neutrals in religion, are never good for Church nor Commonwealth.

Let the words of that learned Master Ascham witnesse in this case, who above twentie yeeres agoe, having farre lesse cause of complaint then we have now, did publish his censure of those English Italionate travellers in these

24 page, of
teaching the
bringing up
of youth.

words: *For religion, they get Papistrie, or worse: for learning, lesse commonly then they carried out: for policie, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a minde to meddle in all mens matters: for experience, plenty of new mischiefes, never knowne in England before: for manners, varietie of vanities, and change of filthy living. These be the inchantments of Circes, brought out of Italie to marre English mens manners, much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond bookes of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles, the sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated over boldly to vertuous and honorable personages, the easier to beguile simple and innocent wits. Tenne Sermons at Pauls crosse doe not so much good for moving men to true doctrine, as one of those bookes doe harme with enticing men to ill living: yea, I say further, those bookes tend not so much to corrupt honest living, as they do to subvert true religion; more Papists made by the merrie bookes of Italie, then by the earnest bookes of Lovaine.*

These and many moe are the flowing evils of those noisome streames, that may be stopped, or turned from us (though not altogether (which is impossible) yet in some proportion, for the common good of every man) by these new discoveries, into so great a world, never yet knowne, nor inhabited by Christian men: and though that part of Virginea, wherein we seate, be nothing to the rest, not yet discovered, yet it is enough to men of sense rightly considering, to make them confesse so much as I have said.

If any shall object, want of meanes, or inability for the subjects of our King, to undertake so great a worke in those remote and desert countries, it were too injurious: For first it hath been done by others, to whom wee are no way inferiour for multitude, strength and meanes to doe the like: and secondly, our provocations are now more than ever they were. For touching our multitude of men, as I remember, and I assure my selfe I did see the note, and am not mistaken, in that great yeere of 88, here was billed for the first, second and third service of

the Queene (if need had required) of able persons, thirtie hundred thousand of English, Welsh, and Cornish men ; since which time it cannot otherwise be thought, and the great enlargement of townes and buildings shew that we have much increased, besides that happie addition since of an entire kingdome, being a warlike, wise, and a stout nation, that were then no members of us. And for strength of shipping, skilfull men and meanes to furnish greater attempts then this, the world can witnesse (to the grief of some) that England hath no want at all. And for our provocations, what can be greater then from the highest ? from God that hath given us the light of his word, that wee might enlighten this blind people : that did provide (when we despaired greatly and feared who should weld the Scepter) a King (with peerlesse branches) to sit over us in peace, whom the world cannot match, that hath bent his royall minde, and of his princely ofspring, to forward and advance the best and most approved actions, at home and abroad, that hath given him to set his feete upon his enemies necks, and hath made the poyson of their infected * hearts to work their owne confusion, and the most bitter hearted adversarie to die for sorrow to see his prosperity : by which we are assured, that God doth reserve him to many excellent ends, and by whose wisdom we are daily invited under the shadow of our own vine, to repose ourselves in peace and rest.

In Scotland
and England
too.

* The powder
men.
Parsons, &c.

How are they thus dejected then in their honourable thoughts, so many both English men and Scottish, which seeme not like themselves, that to so infinit good ends, and notwithstanding the forcible inticements and powerfull meanes to effect the same, will yet sit still, and neither helpe on this, nor any like publike action, with their persons, purse nor counsell ? How far is this unlike their ancient guise in former times, when for the name of Christ, and honour of their nations, they adventured thorow the world to winne it with the sword ? Well, if they will needs so much forget themselves, let this suffice to conclude them as unprofitable members, emptying

and keeping drie the fountaine at home, when with others they might seek to fill it from abroad ; suffering the wealth of the world, of this new world, which is knowne to abound in treasure, if not to sleepe in the dust, yet to slide away, and there to settle ; where it reviveth the spirit of that viprous brood, which seek to heale againe that wounded head of Rome, by instigating therewith, and anointing the hornes of such, as when time shall serve, will seeke to pearce our hearts.

The English
Jesuits, and
others.

And if it be asked, what benefit shall any man reape, in lieu of his disbursements, by that barren countrie, which hath so consumed all our employments ? It hath been alreadie declared to the world in sundrie discourses, containing sufficient encouragement to men of understanding, and therefore not needfull heere to lay out againe, the undoubted certaintie of minerals, the rich and commodious meanes for shipping, and other materials of great use, which if they were not alreadie publisht, wee would utterly forbear to name, till (after the plantation settled) the effects and fruits should shew themselves. And besides al which things, that Nature hath already seated there, the soile and climate is so apt and fit for industrious mindes, to make plantation of so many pretious plants (as hath been likewise shewed in particular) for the use of mankind and trade of merchandise, as to the sense and reason of such as have seene it, no Countrie under heaven can goe beyond it.

And so to end with this that has been said, which if it may suffice to satisfie the ignorant, to stop the mouthes of cavillers, and to stirre up more assistance to this enterprise, it is enough : if not, I doe not doubt, but God who effecteth oft the greatest ends by smallest meanes, and hath so farre blest those few hands as to procure this birth, will likewise still assist the same to bring it up with honour. Proceed therefore you noble Lords, and you wise religious gentlemen, in your constant resolution, and in your dailie prayers remember it, for this worke is of such consequence, as for many important reasons it must never be forsaken.

And as you have not shrunke away, (with many such of worse condition, which before they see it effected by others, will never adventure any thing) but (like that worthie Ramane Scipio, preserver of his Countrie, which when all the Romanes in that sudden feare of Hannibals approach threw off their armes to take themselves to flight, drew out his sword, and staid their running out, and ruine of the citie) have in your owne persons with exceeding paines, adventured in the most desperate condition thereof, to keep the work from ruine, and have set it in that hopefull way to subsist of it selfe, as whether you live or no, to see the fruites thereof on earth, yet your reward shall be with God: and for example to posteritie, in being the first props and pillars of the work, the records of time shall publish your praise; not stained with lies as the Legends of Saints, but as those renowned deeds of your noble ancestors, truly set out in our English stories, still living (as it were) and reaching out the hand, speaking to them that follow after, and telling to such as shall succeed, *This is the way for the honour of your King and your Countries good.*

FINIS.

At Theobalds, the 12. of April, 1622.

The Copy of a Reference from the Kings most Excellent Majesty: As also a Letter from the Right Honourable Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councell, to the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Lords Arch-Bishops of Canterbury and Yorke their Graces.

His Majesty is graciously pleased, That the Lords Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke, doe in their severall Provinces proceed according to the Letters of the Lords of the Councell, bearing date the last of June 1621. as well in recommending Captaine Whitbournes discourse concerning New-found-land, so as the same may be distributed to the severall Parishes of this Kingdome, for the

incouragement of Adventurers unto the Plantation there ; As also by furthering (in the most favorable and effectuall manner they can) the collections to be thereupon made in all the said Parishes, towards the charge of printing and distributing those Bookes, and the said Captaine Whitbournes good indevours, and service, with expence of his time and meanes in the advancing of the said Plantation ; and his severall great losses received at Sea by Pyrats and otherwise, of which his Majesty hath been credibly certified ; And further his Majesties pleasure is, that the said Captaine Whitbourne shall have the sole printing of his booke for one and twenty yeares.

God save the King.



AFTER our very hearty Commendations to your good Lordships, Whereas Captaine Richard Whitbourne of Exmouth, in the County of Devon, Gentleman, having spent much time in New-found-land (whither he hath made sundry voyages, and some by express Commissions) hath set down in wryting divers good observations and notes touching the state and condition of that Country, and the plantation there, which being by order from us now printed : It is desired to be published throughout the Kingdome, for the furthering and advancement of the said plantation, and to give encouragement to such as shalbe willing to adventure therein, and assist the same, either in their persons or otherwise, to which we thinke the publication of this Booke may much conduce : And we doe give good approbation to his good indevours and purpose. So have we thought fit earnestly to recommend him unto your Lordships good favours, both for the distribution of his Books within the Provinces of Canterbury and Yorke, unto the severall Parishes thereof, and also for your Lordships helpe and furtherance, that after his great travels and charges, wherein he hath spent much of his time and meanes, having long time been a Merchant of good estate, he may reape by your Lordships assistance some profit of his labours, and

towards the printing and distributing the said Bookes by such a voluntary contribution, as shalbe willingly given and collected for him within the severall Parish Churches of the said Provinces ; which will be both a good encouragement unto others in the like indevours for the service of their Country, and some reward to him for his great charge, travels, and divers losses at Sea which he hath received, as we are credibly certified. And so commending him earnestly to your good Lordships, We bid your Lordships very heartily farewell. From Whitehall the last day of June 1621.

Signed by the

Lord Treasurer,
Lord Privie Seale,
Duke of Lenoxe,
Marquesse Hambleton,
Earle of Arundell,
Earle of Kelley,
Lord Viscount Doncaster,
Lord Viscount Faulkland,
Master Treasurer,
Master Secretary Calvert,
Master of the Rolles.

The names of some, who have undertaken to helpe and advance his Majesties Plantation in the New-found land, viz.

THE Right Honorable, Henry Lord Cary, Viscount of Faulke-land, Lord Deputy Generall of the Kingdome of Ireland, hath undertaken to plant a Colony of his Majesties subjects in the New-found-land, and his Lordship is well pleased to entertaine such as are willing to be Adventurers with him therein, upon such Conditions as may appeare in the latter part of this Booke : And in his Lordships absence, he hath authorized his Agent, Master Leonard Wellsted, Gentleman, by warrant under his hand and Seale, to ratifie whatsoever shall be by him concluded therein. The said Master Wellsteds Chamber is

neere to one Master Garlands house, at the lower end of Saint Martins lane in the field.

The Right Honourable Sir George Calvert Knight, principall Sècretarie unto the Kings most excellent Majesty, hath also undertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Country: who hath already sent thither this yeare and the former yeare, a great number of men and women, with all necessarie provisions fit for them; where they live pleasantly, building of houses, cleansing of land for Corne, and meddowes, Cabage, Carrets, Turneps, and such like; as also for Woad and Tobacco. Likewise they are there preparing to make Salt, for the preserving of fish another yeare, and for divers other services. And his Honour is likewise well pleased to entertaine such as will adventure with him therein, upon very fit conditions.

The Worshipfull John Slany of London Merchant, who is one of the undertakers of the New-found-land Plantation, and is Treasurer unto the Patentees of that Society, who have maintained a Colony of his Majesties subjects there above twelve yeares, and they are willing to entertaine such as will further his Majesties said Plantations, upon fit conditions.

Divers Worshipfull Citizens of the City of Bristol, have undertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Countrey, and they have maintained a Colony of his Majesties subjects there any time these five yeares, who have builded there faire houses, and done many other good services, who live there very pleasantly, and they are well pleased to entertaine upon fit conditions, such as wilbe Adventurers with them.

The Worshipfull William Vaughan of Tarracod, in the County of Carmarthen, Doctor of the Civill law, hath also undertaken to plant a Circuit in the New-found-land: and hath in two severall years sent thither divers men and women, and he is willing to entertaine such as will be Adventurers with him upon fit conditions.

And there are many other worthy persons Adventurers in the said Plantation, whose names are not herein mentioned. And it is well hoped, that divers others will also put their helping hand to advance the same, when

they are given to understand what honour and benefit may accrue thereby. And if his Majesties subjects of this Kingdome may be willing to set foorth from every severall County, but one good ship yearely thither, with people and provisions fit for them, it will be then not onely a great honour and benefit unto his Majesty, but also a great increase of shipping and Mariners, and the employing and inriching of many thousands of poore people which now live chargeable to the Parishioners. The which may be easily performed by the able subjects, to set forth the charge at first, and so every Parish to receive yearely their equall parts of the benefit which may accrue by the said stocke ; and thereby not onely disburden yearely themselves of some of those which lie chargeable unto them within their severall Parishes : but also yearely yeeld a great benefit to every severall County, though it lie something remote from the Sea coast, if they imploy a discreet honest man therein, who may yearely be accomptable to every Parish of the charge, and likewise the benefit. The which will not be any way burdensome or hurtfull unto any ; as the following discourse which I have written, will plainly informe them.

From my Chamber at the signe of the gilded Cocke
in Pater-noster-Row in London. R. W.

PINCHEON PAPERS.

IN the archives of the Historical Society are many files of papers, preserved from the era of the first, second and third generations in our country, from which our volumes have often been enriched with curious materials for the antiquary's labours and enjoyments. Among these bundles of original documents, not the least valuable is one presented by John Pinchon, Esquire, of Salem, about twenty years ago, a descendant of one of the most active and useful among the honourable company who directed the settlement of Massachusetts. We have thought the labour well spent of making a transcript of several, as the hour is flying fast, within which the utmost care would surely fail of success. We hope for the honour of our country, that we shall not in vain desire all who have in their possession such records of times long gone by, to save them from mutilation and decay, for which object we have many years assiduously laboured, and are daily encouraged to perseverance. Σ.

RECEIVED the 29th of August 1629 of Mr. William Pincheon the sum of twenty five pounds for his adventure towards London's plantation in Massachusetts Bay in New England in America for which sum a division of lands and an adventure of Stock is to be allotted to him as to every the adventurers proportionable to each man his underwriting shall be concluded and agreed upon. I say received the sum of £25.

per me
GEORGE HARWOOD, the^r

THE account of William Pynchon to the General Court this 8th September 1636 of ammunition, and what is delivered to the several towns.

An account of certain ammunition, being part of Mr. Wilson's gift to publick use, being shipped in the Griffin, July 7. 1634, and by order of General Court was appointed to be received, by William Pynchon.

80 demi-culverin shot, round	}	These lie at Boston by the fort hill.
160 saker shot, round		
24 double headed shot		
24 cross-bar shot		
4 demi-culverins	}	delivered on store at Boston.
3 sakers		
3 doz. woollen cases	}	in a barrel No. A. which were sent for by Mr. Winthrop.
4 formers		
404 lb of bar shot		
100 lb match, 3 lb brass wire	}	in a barrel No. B which was ne- ver yet opened.
2 horns, 2 linstocks, 3 priming irons		
6 quire paper royal, 2 lb starch		
a starch pan of . . .		
4 brass ladles stands, 4 sponges		
2 wadhooks, 6 woollen cartridges		
4 wold sheepskins		
50 black muskets, with rests and bandoleers		
25 calivers		
20 carbines		
81 swords		

200 wolfhooks
 20 wolfhooks to hang
 6 wolf bullets with adders tongues.

Because Mr. Winthrop had disposed of the common arms to Boston and Charlestown, and also Mr. Humfrey had the disposing of some to Saugus and Salem, and therefore I disposed of these as followeth :

To Dorchester, by Mr. Israel Stoughton, 15 muskets with rests and bandoleers, and 10 swords, and 25 wolfhooks to Henry Smith, and 3 calivers to Capt. Mason.

To New Town, by Daniel Denison, and sent per Stephen Hart Nov. 8. 1634, 15 muskets with rests and bandoleers and 10 swords.

To Roxbury, 20 muskets with rests and bandoleers, and 4 calivers, and 12 swords or 13, and 25 wolfhooks to Mr. Denison.

To Weymouth, 15 April 1636 by Ed. Benet and Robert Lowell 4 calivers.

To Watertown 10 calivers and 10 swords per Brian Pemberton 12 May 1636 and 25 wolfhooks to Mr. Oldham.

To Ipswich 8 swords by Mr. William Bartelmew August 7, 1635 and 25 wolfhooks to Mr. Bradstreete.

To Charlestown 9 swords to Robert Moulton August 3. 1635 and 25 wolfhooks to Mr. Nowell.

To Salem 8 swords and 25 wolfhooks per John Holgrave.

To Boston 10 swords to Mr. Coggeshall and 2 swords and 25 wolfhooks to Mr. Wilson.

A note of such things as are for public use, and were shipped in the Planter April 7. 1634 by Mr. William Watson, of which I had no charge.

100 black muskets with bandoleers and rests
 25 square muskets with rests and bandoleers
 25 carbines with swivels, belts and bandoleers
 68 bandoleers packed, with the white muskets
 68 rests with them also for 34 muskets and 34 calivers
 which were sent the year before by Mr. Ball.

2 moulds, 1 piece is for muskets and the other for calivers, to cast 6 bullets at a time

6 sakers cuts	}	being 95 lb at 16s per cwt so Mr. Keayne writes
6 minion cuts		
2 guns of 3 inch bore		

3 whole culverin, being 115 cwt at 13s per cwt.

600 minion round shot

300 culverin round shot

245 demi culverin round shot

600 saker round shot

10 barrels of powder

6 small barrels of shot

2 sheets of lead, weighing 826 lbs

bars of lead weighing 504

drums 4 or 6

My account of Receipts and Payments while I was in the Treasurer's Office, Anno 1632 and 1633.

Receipts into the Treasury. The rates following were due in April 1633

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Salem	3	0	0	Dorchester and			
Sagus	3	0	0	Wessaguscus	15	10	0
New Town	3	0	0	Watertown	13	0	0
Boston	16	0	0	Charlestown	13	0	0
Roxbury	13	0	0	Mistick	2	15	0
				Winisemit	2	15	0
					100	0	0

More received by order of warrant from Court dated October 2. 1633

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Boston	48	0	0	Sagus	36	0	0
Roxbury	48	0	0	Salem	28	0	0
New Town	48	0	0	Winisemit	8	0	0
Watertown	48	0	0	Medford	12	0	0
Charlestown	47	0	0	Agawam	8	0	0
Dorchester and							
Wessaguscus	80	0	0		412		

Received of Mr. Dudley for Robert Cole's fine	3	6	8
Received 2 fines of Wignall 20 bushels of corn for <i>l</i> 5, but it proved bad, it was sold good- man Penn for	4	0	0
Received for part of a fine of <i>l</i> 40 of Dexter	10	0	0
Received another fine of Dexter of	1	0	0
Received of 2 persons in Roxbury that were absent from training, being 5s a piece	0	10	0
	18	16	8
Received for beaver trade at 12 <i>d</i> per lb of Mr. Turner of Sagus October 3. 1632 for 26 and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb beaver	1	6	6
Received of Davis Wilton of Dorchester for 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb beaver	0	1	3
of him another time for 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb	0	1	6
Received of Goodman Webb of New Town for 15 lb beaver	0	15	0
of Mr. Mayhew for 22 lb of beaver upon ac- count as I remember	1	3	0
Received of Mr. Woolrich for all his beaver trade till the 4 March 1632	2	4	0
of the Constable of Charlestown for beaver	0	1	0
of the Constable of New Town for beaver trade	0	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$
for beaver trade in Boston per Constable	0	15	6
for beaver trade of the Constable in Dorches- ter	3	1	9
of John Holman and Richard Collecot 15 March for their beaver trade	1	12	6
My own allowance for beaver trade for a year and till the General Court in March 1634	20	0	0
	31	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$

I was by composition to pay *l*25, but that composition was in regard of a benefit by an order of Court, made a little before, that there should be but one in a town to trade in beaver ; which order hath not been observed, and

therefore my trade was the less. And so I make allowance at the rate of 12*d* per lb as others do.

The whole sum of receipts is 1561, 19. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

Payments out of the Common Treasury.

paid John Sagamore's brother, the 9 October 1632 for killing a wolf, one coat at	0	12	0
To a Neponset Indian for a wolf, one coat	0	12	0
To Jack Straw one coat, by a note from the Governor	0	12	0
To Wamascus son for two wolves two coats	1	4	0
To another Indian for a wolf	0	12	0
To James Sedley of Wessaguscus for killing a wolf	1	0	0
To Richard Waterman of Salem for a wolf	2	0	0
To John Gallop for carriage of a letter to Piscataqua	7	0	0
paid for 400 and $\frac{1}{2}$ and 23 feet of plank for the platform at Boston at 9s. per hundred in April 1632	2	2	6
paid for carting them to the water side	0	6	0
paid Mr. Alcock for a fat hog for to victual the pinnace for the taking of Dixie Bull	3	10	0
paid goodman Lyman for a fat hog for the same use	3	10	0
paid to Mr. Shurd of Pemaquid by order of Court for provisions for the pinnace 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb beaver	13	2	6
paid Lieutenant Mason for his service in the pinnace by order of Court	10	0	0
paid goodman Converse by order of Court for officers' passage over the water	0	11	5
paid goodman Lamb for bringing four barrels of the common powder to Roxbury	0	4	0
paid Richard Bulgar for work at the fort	2	0	0
paid John Cable for 500 four inch plank for fortification	2	10	0
	51	8	5

paid by the Constable of Dorchester for 500 of 4 inch plank for the fort	2	10	0
paid goodman Morell for work done for spales for the fort	1	10	0
paid Anthony Colby for 2 days attendance at Court to witness against William Coling and 3 others for drunkenness	0	5	0
paid for the carting of 5 loads of the planks aforesaid, being 37 four inch plank to the water side at Dorchester	0	8	0
paid Edward Bendall for lightorage of ordnance	0	15	0
paid Mr. Belcher of Boston for 500 plank for the fort at Boston	2	2	6
paid goodman Cheesbrough for work for the fort	0	11	6
paid Mr. Aspinwall for carting plank for the fort	0	12	0
A deduction was allowed back, by order of Court, to Mr. Dummer out of his rate at Sagus for public uses	3	4	0
paid to Edward Bendall for lightorage of 12 pieces of ordnance and 280 bullets out of the Griffin, being 4 tides	2	6	0
for boating and carting the implements for the ordnance and the muskets and swords, &c.	0	15	0
for carting of the 4 inch planks to the wa- ter side, being 6 great loads with 2 men's help	0	18	0
paid by a bill from Mr. Samuel Maverick, be- ing husband and merchant of the pinnace set out to take Dixie Bull, for a month's wages to Elias Maverick	2	0	0
more, paid for victuals upon his account	2	5	0
	20	2	0
paid to James Penn, the marshall of our Courts, his provision being 8 <i>l</i> per annum. paid him in March 1632, an arrear of a year and a half now due	10	13	4

paid him the 23d October in several sums	13	3	11
paid him an arrear of half a year due 29 September 1633	1	10	0
paid him by the Constable of Charlestown	0	4	0
paid him in March 25 1634 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb beaver and 12d in money	2	16	0
more, paid him by order of Court out of the Treasury for the building of his house, in several payments	30	0	0
	58	7	3
paid Captain Underhill his pension of l 30 per annum, his time begins 22 February, paid him one quarter due 22 May 1632	7	10	0
paid him for a year due 22 Feb. 1633	30	0	0
paid Captain Patrick for a quarter due the 22 May	7	10	0
paid Captain Patrick for a year due 22 February 1633	30	0	0
paid Captain Patrick part of his pension till 22 April 1634 and so now his year begins thence	5	0	0
paid Sergeant Morris his pension for one year and a half per a bill from the Governor	15	0	0
paid him also by a warrant the 18 of November for his pension $\frac{3}{4}$ of a year more	7	10	0
	160	17	3
So I have disbursed out of the public Treasury	l 51	8	5
and in the next page	20	2	0
and in the next page	160	17	3
and paid upon account to Mr. Winthrop for such monies as he hath disbursed for the Commonwealth	328	10	0
The sum is	560	17	8

And the receipts are	first	100	0	0
	next	412	0	0
	and last of all	49	19	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sum total		561	19	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

*To his honoured friend the worshipful William Pincheon
Esq. at Agawam be these delivered.*

Sir,

I HAVE received your letter, wherein you express, that you are well fortified, but few hands. I would desire you to be careful and watchful that you be not betrayed by friendship. For my part, my spirit is ready many times even to sink within me when upon alarms, which are daily, I think of your condition, that, if the case be never so dangerous, we can neither help you, nor you us. But I must confess both you and ourselves do stand merely by the power of our God, and therefore he must and ought to have the praise of it.—For Sergeant Major Blake, with you I think you do well and justly in it, for in time of danger no commonwealth will let any depart that before were commorant with them. Whereas you say we were not willing to send you any hands, I pray be not so uncharitable, for I can assure you, it is our great grief we cannot, for our plantations are so gleaned by that small fleet we sent out, that those that remain are not able to supply our watches, which are day and night, that our people are scarce able to stand upon their legs; and for planting we are in the like condition with you. What we plant is before our doors, little any where else.

^{11 May.} Our fleet went away tomorrow will be a se'nnight, and this last night the Indians by us, with joyful hearts, bring us tidings that they have done some execution upon our enemies, and have killed six of them, and they have killed one of Sicaock Indians that went with us, for there went 90 Indians armed with us for to fight with them with us.

Mr. Haine is now come to Hartford, and there is come a letter from the * * * that they intend in June next

to send out 200 men, 120 themselves, 40 from Plymouth, 10 from the fort, 30 from us. Captain Traske, Captain Lieutenant Dampart, Captain Jenison, and one of the magistrates as they suppose not then concluded on. The contention in the Bay grows hot and publick, and what will be the issue the Lord knows. News out of England is that the Turks infest the English very much, and are victualled in France. There are no ships in the Bay at present, but daily expect. For Mr. Adams business, doubt not but you shall have proportionable share; but for the present we meddle with no Courts, scarce dare meet, because of danger. I am sorry you take such exceptions about your boat, and, under favour, as I conceive, groundless. For sending you word, we could not, the time was so sudden, and your men were there so soon as the thing was intended; and you may conceive, to send out so many men so suddenly and provide for them, as you may conceive our case stands, is sure no little trouble and labour. Besides, for sending to you, I could wish you could invent a way we might constantly do it each to other, for you scarce think how we are grieved to think of you many times. You think much to give a coat I can assure I cannot get any to go upon any terms it may be your Indians have often recourse hither if you could take order with them to call to me, you shall have constant intelligence of things, and agree with them yourself. For your second offence, as reasoning what you would do with two boats, I am of the same mind still, that two boats in this time is very prejudicial to your welfare, and if we might personally argue the thing, I could make it clear to yourself. In the mean pray strain a thing so far, for I nor the rest here do design to seek nothing more than your good and safety. For your debt I am solicitous oft, and I think the long before now I was never demanded twice in my life, neither should this I hope, if not for the wars, that I cannot go into the Bay to settle business to pay your debt, which is the greatest I owe, and I remember not for the present I owe so much more in the world. Therefore pray, Sir, have patience, and as soon as possible I will take a course to give you satisfac-

tion, and in the mean any of my estate is at your service to dispose of for so much. I could wish your women, children and cattle were with us a while, which, if you will send, we will take the best care we can of. We needed your counsel, person and advice in our business, but your danger being as it is, your presence cannot well be expected. Therefore pray once more let me desire you to be wise, watchful and careful in the use of means, and then I hope the rock of Israel will defend you, to whose protection with my love and my wife's to yourself and your wife, having much to do and to work, in brief I leave you, and rest

Your loving friend

Windsor 17th 1637.

RO. LUDLOWE.

For his Majesty's service.

To Major Pincheon at Springfield deliver.

BOSTON December 28 86 .

Sir,

OUR governor arrived the 20th instant, on the 22 wee had a council, and directions were given that all the members of the late government should be summoned to meet on the 30th instant, I did not fayle you, but sent the farthest way about, for his Excellency sending a letter to Connecticott Colony, and I dispatching a messenger to serve another writ of Quo Warranto on the governor of Connecticutt sent to him your letter, which he will be so just as to send you at his coming to Hartford, where I am well assured the physick is to operate. I hear the little Quacks there are endeavouring to divert their coming under one government, but his Excellency has his Majesty's commands to accept of their surrender, which they cannot avoid, they must for publicity. Now I intreat you out of respect to your son to come as soon as you can. I hope he will find the benefit of your journey, and I am to tell you his Excellency has a great kindness for you. If you come before you receive mine, order Mr. Glover the minister to open the letter, in which is an order of the Go-

vernor in Council to be communicated through your whole county. Be careful of yourself and speedy. We have Road Island already, and I fear not Connecticut. A dutifull submission will well become them, and place them in his Majesties favour. His Excellency will propose greater advantages for their ease and happiness than their weak phancy's can project. My service to your good Lady.

I am, Sir, yours

ED. RANDOLPH

NEW YORK May 2d. 1690

Sir,

AT our meeting here, as Commissioners for the Massachusetts Colony, with the Commissioners of Plymouth, Connecticut and of this Province, it is concluded that for the strengthening of Albany, and furnishing out an expedition from thence against the common enemy, wherein the Maquas and Sineques will join with us, our proportion of soldiers to be sent shall be one hundred and sixty. And because it will be more easy to take some of those out of your parts, than to fetch the whole number from the Bay and parts more remote, we thought it adviseable to give you this notice of what is agreed on, and desire that you will accordingly consider whether sixty at least of the above said proportion may not be raised in your county, who may easy join themselves with those that are to go from Connecticut. If you dispatch your thoughts concerning this matter to the Governour at Boston, it may be some direction to him and the Council, and help to expedite the business. We are your hearty friends and servants

WILLIAM STOUGHTON

SAM. SEWALL.

*To the Honorable Colonel John Pynchon
these at Springfield.*

Daniel Cooly, in his Majesty's name your are required to carry this letter forthwith to Colonel Pynchon. It came from your Commissioners, and is for his Majesty's service. Hereof fail not

May 9. 1590

JOHN ALLYN *Assistant.*

DEERFIELD June 2d. 1690

Sir,

I THOUGHT it might not be amiss to give your worship a brief account of some Maquas and Indians that came in last week from Canada. They say they have been gone from home 44 days. In their going up, they meet with those Maquas that brought the last French captive, which we heard of. They told them that they had taken him at Shamblee, therefore advised them not to go thither. Beside they thought the French there would be shy, having lost a man so lately. Therefore they took their course to Troreveere. They came to the town in the night, and lay in wait till morning. Early in the morning there came out three men, two to work, and a third, they say, a gentleman with his gun to guard them. They shot down two of them, and took the third, and brought him down with the scalps of the other two. I had some talk with him. He tells me that at present they keep close for fear of the Maquas, dare not go out to work, are much straitened for provision, there is very little bread in the country, their chief diet is ground nuts and fish. As for the affairs of the country, he says he knows not what their intentions are, (and its provible he may not, for he seems to be a poor underling fellow.) The Governour's seat is at Mount Royal, where, says he, tis reported there are 500 French, 100 French Maquas, and about 30 Indians. There are our captives also, 28, all well. At Troreveere there is but 50 men, also at Shamblee 50, He says there are no French out now that he knows of, there is no shipping come from France, but there is one lately gone off for France, laden with firs. The Maquas rejoiced greatly at the English success, at Port Royal, and earnestly desire that the English would be speedy in the motion in sending their army that is to go along with them.

Not else but I am, Sir, your servant
to command

THO. WELLS

*These for the Honoured Colonel
John Pynchon Esq. in Springfield*

Habeas Corpus.

THE following papers, from a copy in the hand writing of Judge Sewall in 1706, whether the claim to this first right of freemen were ever asserted before, or not, will to every antiquary be highly interesting.

BOSTON 13 July 1706

Sir,

I AM commanded by his Excellency the Governor to certify you, that the Governour, Council and Assembly have this day passed an Act in due form, that William Rous, mariner, Samuel Vetch, Esquire, John Borland and Roger Lawson, merchants, Ebenezer Coffin, mariner, and John Phillips, junr. mariner, be committed to her Majesty's Gaol in Boston, there to remain in safe custody, without bail or mainprise, until the end of the next session of the great and General Court or Assembly, unless they shall sooner be discharged by his Excellency by the consent of the Council and the Representatives; the said persons being impeached by the Representatives of high misdemeanors for illegally trading with, selling to, and supplying of the French and Indians, the open and declared enemies of her Majesty's government and liege people of this Province &c. The records of which Act is open to be seen.

Your servant

ISAAC ADDINGTON *Secr.*

*For Giles Dyer Esqr. High Sheriff of
the County of Suffolk.*

*To the Honourable Samuel Sewall, Esqr. Chief Judge of
Her Majesty's Superior Court of Judicature for the
Province of the Massachusetts Bay.*

THE humble appeal of the beforenamed William Rous, mariner, Samuel Vetch, Esqr. John Borland and Roger Lawson, merchants, Ebenezer Coffin, mariner and John Phillips junr. mariner, prisoners in her Majesty's gaol in Boston, sheweth,

That your appellants stand committed by virtue of a warrant or commitment (a true copy whereof is above) unto which they refer your Honour. And forasmuch as they humbly conceive, that, notwithstanding the offence therein contained, they are bailable by law, and, it being now vacation time, and out of term, or Court sitting,

They humbly pray, that, according to law, your Honour would forthwith award and grant an Habeas Corpus returnable immediate, that they may be heard in the premises.

Your Honour's most humble servants

WM ROUS

SAM. VETCH

JOHN BORLAND

ROGER LAWSON

EBENEZER COFFIN

JOHN PHILLIPS junr.

BOSTON 28 September 1706.

The Deposition of John Maxwell, Merchant, and John Valentine, Gentleman, both of Boston in New-England.

THE deponents make oath, that on Monday the fifteenth day of last July, at the instance of Captain William Rous, Samuel Vetch, John Borland, Roger Lawson, Ebenezer Coffin, and John Phillips, the deponents went to the house of Samuel Sewall, Esqr. in Boston, one of her Majesty's Justices of her Majesty's Superiour Court of Judicature, and presented him a paper, which the said Rous and the other prisoners had signed (true copy whereof the deponents believe to be on the other side) praying in their behalf a writ of Habeas Corpus in order to bail the said prisoners, to which the said Mr. J. Sewall answered, he could do nothing in it, the prisoners being committed by Act of the General Court. Whereupon the deponent Valentine replied, there is a penalty, if the Judge shall refuse. The said Mr. J. Sewall then said he knew it. And further the deponents say, that the said prisoners did not, nor could they, or any of them, obtain from the said Mr.

J. Sewall her Majesty's writ of Habeas Corpus, as desired.

JNO. MAXWELL
JNO. VALENTINE

Boston in New-England

Sept. 28. 1706

Sworn per the deponents, Maxwell and Valentine, after
rase of the words (of five hundred pounds

Cor. ISA. ADDINGTON. *J. Pacis.*

Mr. Justice Sewall being present at the caption of the above affidavit saith, that the commitment of the persons abovenamed offered to him, having relation to an act passed by the General Assembly, the deponents showed forth no such act to him (which they also acknowledged) nor had he any copy thereof, being a private act.

BOSTON; November 26. 1713.

Dear Brother,

THESE are to thank you for my kind entertainment at your house in the Court week. I had a very comfortable journey home; and came time enough to attend the funeral of Mrs. Mather. Since that, he buried his maid, his twins, and his daughter Jerusha 2 years and 7 months old. Elder David Cop was diligently writing at meeting the 15th current, was taken on Monday night, and died last Friday, in the 79th year of his age. He was a pious man of good example and ancient friend of our family. Was buried at the north last Tuesday. Upon the same day were interred Mr. Boon's wife, and our neighbour Fenno's wife: they both died very suddenly, well, and dead in 2 or 3 hours. The school-dame Emons died also very suddenly; but she was a person in years. Cousin Rolf's sister was buried to day, Jephson: and Mr. Edward Hutchinson's only daughter, only child. A few orthodox Christians at Swansey called Mr. John Wilson to preach to them, he was settling among them to good satisfaction; but is snatched away by a violent fever. By his death his family at Braintree was deluged with tears. The people at

Swansey are much to be pitied. I am afraid lest God should extend the line of Connecticut over Boston, and over this Province! May we have the fortification of the 91. Psalm well drawn about us; that such a mortal malignity may not touch us; or however doe us no real hurt. Your Jonathan, and Sam Hirst are in one bed sick of the measles. We have two sick in our house; Benjamin Larnell, and Susan our servant-maid. We were so destitute of help, that we were fain to send David post to Braintrey, 16 miles off, and fetch her mother to us. Are in a hopefull way of recovery. Let us pray one for another, that God would perfect what is lacking in our faith. Our son J. Sewall was at lecture to day. Visited his mother last Tuesday, which was the first time of his coming abroad. Mr. John Walley is fallen into sad pain and indisposition; 'tis feared he catched cold after the measles. ~Near all the help in the family is now sick. Are sick at cousin Green's. Wheat at 8s. pr. bushel flower at 35s. Captain Wade demands ten thousand of bread to carry him home. Dr. Mather's text was Prov. 24. 10. which he handled well. Mr. Thacher of Milton, and cousin Quinsey, and your cousin Samuel of Brooklin dined with us. Am glad to hear that cousin Porter and his wife are recovered. The struggles in choice of Parliament men in England are very great and fierce. My love to sister and cousins. May we die to sin and live unto righteousness.

Sir, your loving brother and servant
SAMUEL SEWALL.



A Short Account of the Names, Situation, Numbers, and Distances of the five Indian Nations or Tribes in alliance with the Government of New York and under the Protection of the Crown of Great Brittain.

And

1. THE Mohawks. They live upon a river called by their own name, though when it comes down to Schenectida a good Dutch town it obtains the name of Sche-

nectida River and about seven miles above Albany empties itself into Hudson's River. The Mohawks have two castles; the nearest to Albany is about 40. miles distant between the west and southwest: their second castle is 25. miles further, in all 65. miles distant from Albany. The number of their fighting men at present does not exceed 160. they were formerly much more numerous. Upon this tribe of the Mohawks are dependant the Scatakook or River Indians most of them were fugitives from New England in the time of Phillip's war. They do not exceed 40. fighting men are settled on a river that comes in also to Hudson's River from between the north and the northeast. The Mohawks have been formerly esteemed the most warlike of all the tribes.

The

2d. Nation are the Oneidaes 80. miles distant from the Mohawks i. e. from their 2d. castle. They consist of 200. fighting men.

3d. Nation Onundawgoes. within 25. miles of the Oneidaes—they make 250. men.

4. Kei-u-gues are 70. miles beyond the Onundawgoes and are reckoned to be 130. able men.

5. The Sennekus are the most remote but the greatest of all the nations. They have three castles. The nearest is seventy miles beyond the Keiugues. The 2d. nine miles from the first. The 3d. within 4. miles of the second, and in all they are said to make 700. men fit for the warr so that the number of the whole including the Scatakooks amounts to 1480—

Their distance from Albany	nearest 40. miles
	furthest 323. miles.

These five nations have one common language though their dialect differs a little, especially the Mohawk and the Senneks.

The French have been endeavouring and still are using all possible methods to seduce these 5. nations but especially the Senneks as being the nearest to the Indian tribes in alliance with the French, among whom the French have their forts and missionaries; and of late years the French have had a Jesuit at times even among

the Sennekus themselves and who by that means are become of late very wavering. The government of New York judging very rightly how much it was not only their duty but their interest to instruct the 5. nations in the Christian Protestant religion took care to have a missionary among them, Mr. Andrews who was a very worthy gentleman, but he has lately left them. It is hoped that care will be taken that some able person succeed him and that the government will also settle a small castle or fort in each of the nations if it were but a sergeant and 10. men, as well to encourage and ingage them in the English interest as to protect them from the French and French Indian nations.

The trade of the five nations chiefly consists in furs and skins—comes first to Albany and then to New York and so for Europe. But I am informed it is increased of late.

The foregoing was taken from a memorandum of Paul Dudley's Esq. who had it at Albany in October, 1721 when an agent of the Province of the Massachusetts to treat with the five nations abovementioned.

Copied 3d of Nov. 1721.

Mon. Ralley the Romish Priest at Norridgwalk his letter to his Rev. Father dated August 12th 1724 the very day that Captain Harmon and his men slew him and a number of Indians.

(Copy.)

NARRIDGWALK August 23. N. S.
12. O. S.

My Rev. Father,

My people are returned from their last expedition wherein one of their bravest champions was killed, believing there was about two hundred English divided in three partys or bands to drive them out of their camp, and expecting a further number to enforce them, in order to ruin all the corn in the fields without doubt but I said to them how could that be seeing we are daily surrounding and making inrodes upon them every where in the

midst of their land, and they not comeing out of their fort which they have upon our own land, besides in all the warr you have had with them, did you ever see them come to attack you in the spring, summer, or in the fall, when they knew you were in your habitations, you knew it you say your selves that they never did but when you was not, but when you were in the woods, for if they knew there were but 12 or 15 men in your dwellings they dare not approach you with one hundred. We told you after the fall fight of Kee Kepenaglieseek that the English would come with the nation of Irognas to revenge themselves, you opposed it, and said they would not and yet they did, you see now whether you are in the right. I had reason to believe it, founded on the kings word, who could ever think he should forge such a falshood, and how should I then answer right. And it was to make good their false designs that they come here to shew themselves a master of your land (contrary to my expectation) where they would not have a Romish Priest to dwell, and if they did not burn the church it is because I did send them word in your behalfe that if they did burn it you should burn all their temples, therefore there was an order to the officer not to burn any thing, they hearken to all my reasons aforegoing but follow their own, they design to quitt the village for a fortnight and to goe five or six leagues up the river they proposed it to me and I have given them my consent. When I spake to them on such an occasion I declared my thought without oblidging them to follow the same. But I declared to them that I was ready to follow their own, its but a few days since we came to the village, and the last are arrived this morning. The day before yesterday arrived a party of the Becancourians being nine in number, but I have no dependance on them, but my dependance is upon Kεnasons the former being favourers of the English. Yesterday 12 or 15 Pannasanskeins four Harones with one wounded arrived here almost starved, therefore they must be supplied though the corn is not ripe, they must take it as it is for we are almost reduced to a famine provisions being so scarce. As for myselfe through the grace of God I

have gathered in the most part of my field and husked the same, which is now drying, for I can expect none or very little from the salvages. Three Harones are this morning to depart and goe into the warr with the Becancourians the Pannsanskeans desired the Harones to carry away their wounded say they you seek nothing but scalps ; there is five which we give you, they have had some likewise in this village and are to depart tomorrow morning, my own people are also to depart and are now deliberately consulting whether they shall joyn with the Becancourians, Ratio Dubitandi est that the sarinakiens said when my people came to the warr that they joyn with the Narridgwalks, who follow the English very close by frequent discharge of their pieces, when they other keep at a distance and when they return they will take all the honour of the warr to themselves which is very displeasing to my people who are deserving of true honour. Therefore they conclude to goe by themselves in different partys as I had advised them. It is therefore for the same reason that they did let the Harones goe by themselves, at their arrival here there was a party ready to embark and I advised my people that two of them should goe as a guard to the Harones 8saumiges and Mathien are to joyn with them. But my people come and tell me that the Harones being in company with them before used to say in Canada that the Narridgwalks were but woemen in the warr &c. I am sure said I that is a calumny that the Harones cast upon them they have no reason to say any such thing, they have seen you in the action and you have given them severall scalps, &c. but they know the way and tell us every spot, however let them goe by themselves.

I just now received a letter from father Loveijat with four cod fish out of eight that he sent me, the bears have eat four by the way and said it was a case of necessity being for want of provisions though their village is full of cod fish out of 15 or 16 vessels they have taken, the father sent me word that by a suitable opportunity he shall send me more, and has sent me word that they have newly taken three vessells and killed ten men some on the spot and others by reason they revolted who had spared

their lives, they have attempted to burn the fort St. George by two fire ships or vessells, but for want of wind they miscarried. The fire began to take the wood part of the fort whereupon they heard the English make a great cry and lamentation, some of them comeing out of the fort to attempt to extinguish the fire, which the Indians could not kill by reason of their being posted on the contrary side, they not foreseeing that the English could come out of the fort on that side, the fire of one of the vessels went out soon of it selfe and the English had it. After that nine of the Indians went off in a vessell, where they were attacked by two English vessells they engaged some time and the Indians haveing no more powder attempted to board one of them but they shunned it, therefore the Indians were oblidgeed to retire, eleven other Indians went in a vessell and espied two English vessells in the road and went to plunder them, but seeing they were full of men, and themselves not able to stand them, did save themselves by swimming ashore and leaving their vessells. Says the father, I attribute the bad success to their ungratefull to God and disobedience to me, a vessell said he which came from the mines to bring us provisions, said that an English man assured him that they had a very great inclination to peace at Boston and he doubted not but it would be concluded the next fall, which appears very probable because a vessell which went from hence to Boston to bring a ransom for the prisoners that are here, is not returned, notwithstanding the same time is long since expired, and I have answered them that that did not agree with the counsle Dr. Orange, that was resolved to keep their land, I further said that I would never permit my people to receive a ransom for those they take, for there is not one but would ransom himselfe and if we should hearken to it, the English would never think to return the lands, for the loss of their people, that they would easily buy &c. The father Loyard wrote to him that his people with Kinckemoeks have been in two partys to make an attempt on the English at Port Royall, one of these partys attacked the fort itselfe where they did kill six men and burnt two houses after they had plundered them, and the other

party is not yet returned back. My people are absolutely willing to return to those forts where one of their brave champions was killed in the last party. I am very glad that Mr. L'entendant has accepted my present, they have brought me my chocolate the two bills that James was to have brought with him was cast away, by over setting a canoe; I am well stocked with chocolate for a long time which I came easily by, and it shall not be presently carried away, for it is very weighty, as for the remaining part do you keep for me, it may be it troubles you as much as it would trouble me if I had it. The father Dupy had a warehouse where I put all the wollen and linnen shot and powder as well as the blanketing and gun you got for me. Since the canoe of the Harones was here, I added those things to his merchandize for him, to make the best profit—as for me I'm contented and I think well paid, the wine shall be put in the cellar to be mixed with that of the house, if the tobacco were here it should be put in the magazine, I am very much obliged to you my Rev. Father for the care you take of me, you are willing I should live as a chanoine till the spring, by the plentiful supply you have sent me by Panseawen, I have yet considerable for my selfe for the winter. Since thou has sent me some wine, I take a glass after my mass, but I dont find it keeps me so well as a dram of brandy. I want nothing but Spanish wine for the mass I have enough for my selfe for above 12 months, therefore I pray the 3d time to send no more wine, I shall send for more when I want.



NOTE. It is but just to say that the above letter appears to be a rough translation from the French, and so bald as to be scarcely intelligible; but we have caused it to be printed *literatim et punctuatim* from our ancient copy.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF FATHER RASLES.*

SEBASTIEN RASLES, of a respectable family in Franche-Comté, was a missionary from the Society of Jesuits to the Indians in North America. He embarked at Rochelle in France on the 23d of July, 1689, and arrived at Quebec in October following. He immediately applied himself to learning the language of the *Abnakis*; and went to reside in their village, containing 200 inhabitants, and situated, about three leagues from Quebec, in the midst of a forest. A letter of his, published in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses ecrites des Missions etrangeres*, Tom. VI. p. 153. *ed. nouv.* gives an account of this people, their dress, manners, and customs; the construction of their wigwams, canoes, snow-shoes, &c. and mentions the difficulties which he had to encounter in learning their language, and his ultimate success. He observes that the language of the *Hurons* is the mother of tongues among the savages; is more copious and majestic than any of the others; that, when acquired, a knowledge of the various dialects of the five nations of the *Iroquois*† is easily gained; and adds that Father CHAUMONT, who had lived fifty years among the *Hurons*, had composed a very useful grammar of their language.—In another letter, written in 1723, after he had spent considerable time among the *Abnakis*, the *Algonkins*, the *Hurons*, and the *Illinois*, he gives some particulars of their several languages, and furnishes a little stanza in poetry of each, to shew how entirely different they were. Though most familiar with the *Abnakis* language, he was well acquainted with that of several other of the tribes. “Il sçavoit presque toutes les langues qu’on parle

* As this is compiled principally from his own Letters, printed in the “*Lettres Edifiantes*,” I have written his name as there spelt. In his letter, indeed, to Capt. Moody, Nov. 18, 1712, he has subscribed it *Rale*; by our historians it is written RALIE. His autography is adopted, also, in the other proper-names introduced into this narrative.

† The *Mohawks*, *Oneidas*, *Onondagas*, *Senecas*, and *Cayugas*.

dans ce vaste desert.* He had taught several of his converts, male and female, to write, and corresponded with them in their own language ; and made some attempts in Indian poetry.

After he had been about two years in Canada, he was ordered on a mission to the *Illinois*, a large tribe, on the river of the same name, formed by the confluence of the rivers *Plein* and *Theakiki*, and making a branch of the *Micissippi*. To qualify himself for this mission, he devoted three months to the acquisition of the language of the *Algonkins*, through whose country he was to pass, and with whom he expected to spend the winter ; and, on the 13th of August, commenced his voyage upon the lakes. The account which he gives of the hardships of the voyage, and of the perils of the wilderness through which he passed, often exhausted by fatigue, and sometimes nearly famished for want of food, is very affecting. The season was so far advanced when he arrived at *Missilimakinak*, that he was there obliged to pass the winter. Of the tribe there, he gives a curious and entertaining history ; particularly of their superstitions and necromancers.—In the spring he renewed his travels, and passed through the tribes of the *Muskoutings*, the *Jakis*, the *Omikoues*, the *Iripegouans*, the *Outagamis*, &c. all of whom have a distinct language ; and, after forty days, took water passage upon the *Illinois* river, descending which fifty leagues, he arrived at the first village of the tribe, which consisted of about three hundred wigwams. He says that there are eleven villages belonging to this nation. He gives an account of the ceremony of his reception, the feast of the warriors, and the eloquent harangue of the chief on the occasion. “ Je vous avoue que j’adinirai son flux de paroles, la justesse et la force des raisons qu’il exposa, le tour éloquent qu’il leur donna, le choix et la delicatesse des expressions dont il orna son discours. Je suis persuadé qui si j’eusse mis par écrit ce que ce Sauvage nous dit sur le champ et sans préparation, vous conviendriez sans peine que les plus habiles

* He was acquainted with almost all the languages spoken in this vast desert.

Européens, apres beaucoup de meditation et d'étude, ne pourroient gueres composer un discours plus solide et mieux tourné.”*—He describes, afterwards, the appearance, dress, and manners of the nation.—After residing with them two years, he returned to Quebec; and then resumed his mission to the *Abnaquis*, at whose village, which he calls *Narantsouak*,† on the *Kinibiki*, he principally resided during the remaining twenty six years of his life. His letters give an account of the people to whose instruction he devoted himself; of his labours and mode of living among them; of the erection and furnishing of his little chapel, and of the troubles by which the later years of his life were embittered.

In speaking of the method of illuminating his chapel, he observes that he had found an excellent substitute for wax, by boiling the berries of a kind of laurel in water, and skimming off the thick oily substance which rose to the top. Twenty four pounds of this beautiful green wax, and an equal quantity of tallow, will make one hundred wax-candles of a foot long. [“d’un pied du Roi.”]—He describes, also, his mode of living, which was very simple, and consisted principally of Indian corn, which he calls *skamgnar*, pounded in a mortar, and made into a kind of *bouillie*, by boiling with water. The insipidity of this he corrected, he says, by adding sugar to it, which was made in the spring of the year by the women, by boiling down the sap of the maple, which they collected in bark troughs as it flowed from incisions made in the trunk of the tree.—These particulars are quoted, because it is curious to know that the method of extracting the *bayberry wax*, and of making *maple-sugar*, articles of considerable importance to us, has been learned of the aborigines.

* I must avow to you that I admired his flow of words, the justness and force with which he exhibited his reasons, the eloquent turn which he gave them, and the choice and delicacy of expressions with which he adorned his discourse. I am persuaded that if I should commit to writing that which this Savage said to us on the spur of the occasion and without preparation, you would be convinced that the most able Europeans, after much meditation and study, could scarcely compose a discourse more judicious or better constructed.

† By our historians it is spelled *Norridgewock*, and the river *Kennebeck*.

Having become strongly attached to these Indians, by whom he was loved and venerated as a father, he beheld with great concern the encroachments of the English upon their territory. He mentions that in consequence of the indulgence granted first to one and then to another trader to build a store in their vicinity, the inhabitants of Massachusetts proceeded at length to erect three forts on the river, one of which was of stone. This excited an alarm. In behalf of the natives he sent a remonstrance, of a hundred pages, to the Governour of the Colony, defending the rights of the natives to the undisturbed possession of the region which they inhabited. This document has not been preserved; but some of his letters are to be found in the archives of the Secretary's office of this Commonwealth; and it must be confessed that they speak the language of indignant reprehension of what he conceived to be the encroachments of the English colonists: while from some other papers in the same files it appears that the Indians were more easily intreated, than the persevering and inflexible priest. He wrote also, afterwards, to some of the ministers of Boston in Latin, vindicating the interest which he took in favour of his tribe. A translation of one of these letters is to be found in the manuscript Journal of the Rev. HENRY FLYNT, among the archives of the Historical Society. The earnestness and positiveness of Father RASLES gave offence to the government and people of New England, and he was considered as instigating the reprisals which the Indians afterwards made upon those whom they deemed intruders; accordingly an attempt was made in 1721 by Col. THOMAS WESTBROOKE and his troops to seize him. They arrived at the village undiscovered; but before they could surround his house, he escaped into the woods, leaving his papers in his strong box, which they brought off. Among these papers were his letters of correspondence with the Governour of Canada, by which it appeared that the Governour was deeply engaged in exciting the Indians to a rupture, and had promised to assist them.—A dictionary of the Abnakis language, was also found among his papers; and it was deposited in the Li-

brary of Harvard College. There is this memorandum on it: "1691. Il y a un an que je suis parmi les Sauvages je commence a mettre en ordre en forme de dictionnaire les mots que j' apprens."* It is a quarto volume, of above 500 pages.

This attempt to seize their spiritual father, could not long be unrevenged by the Indians. The next summer [1722] they took nine families from Merry-meeting bay, and, after dismissing some of the prisoners, retained enough to secure the redemption of their hostages, and sent them to Canada. About the same time they made an attempt on the fort at St. George's; but were repulsed with considerable loss. They also surprized some fishing vessels in the eastern harbours; and at length made a furious attack on the town of Brunswick, which they destroyed. This action determined the government of Massachusetts to issue a declaration of war against them, which was published in form at Boston and Portsmouth.†

Particulars of this contest are detailed in PENHALLOW's Narrative. HUTCHINSON's History of Massachusetts, and Dr. BELKNAP's History of New Hampshire. Referring to these, I will only insert here an abridged recital of the fate of Father RASLES, given by Father DE LA CHASSE, superior general of the missions to New France.

On the 23d of August, [O. S. 12th,] 1724, eleven hundred men came to *Nanrantsouak*. In consequence of the thickets with which the village was surrounded, and the little care taken by the inhabitants to prevent a surprize, the invaders were not discovered until the very instant they made a discharge of their guns, and their shot had penetrated the Indian wigwams. There were not above fifty fighting men in the village. These took to their arms, and ran out in confusion, not with any expectation of defending the place against an enemy already in possession, but to favour the escape of their wives, their old

* Having been a year among the Savages, I begin to arrange in the form of a dictionary the words which I learn.

† BELKNAP's History of New Hampshire, v. II. p. 52.

men and children, and to give them time to gain the other side of the river, of which the English had not then possessed themselves.

The noise and tumult gave Father RASLES notice of the danger his converts were in. Not intimidated, he went out to meet the assailants, in hopes to draw all their attention to himself and secure his flock at the peril of his own life. He was not disappointed. As soon as he appeared the English set up a shout, which was followed by a shower of shot, and he fell near a cross which he had erected in the middle of the village, and with him seven Indians who had accompanied him to shelter him with their own bodies.—The Indians, in the greatest consternation at his death, immediately took to flight, and crossed the river some by fording and others swimming. The enemy pursued them until they entered far into the woods; and then returned, and pillaged and burnt the church and the wigwams.—Notwithstanding so many shot had been fired, only thirty of the Indians were slain, and fourteen wounded.—After having accomplished their object, the English withdrew with such precipitation that it seemed rather a flight than a victory.

When the fugitive Indians came back to their village, they made it their first care to weep over the body of their beloved priest; whom they found shot through in many places, scalped, and terribly mangled. After kissing the bloody corse, they buried him by the place where the altar stood before the church was burnt.

Father RASLES was in the 67th year of his age. He had naturally a robust constitution; but for the last nineteen years his health was feeble, in consequence of having broken his limbs by a fall. He was a man of superior sense and profound learning; and particularly skilled in Latin, which he wrote with classical purity. As a missionary he was zealous; and by the Catholics his memory was cherished with veneration. Indeed, to have devoted such talents to the instruction and christianizing the savages; to have consented not only to live among them all his days, in the depths of the forests, in an unrepining conformity to their customs, and upon their un-

palatable food in irregular and uncertain supplies ; but to have taken such long journeys through a rugged wilderness, without shelter or comfortable repose by night, and with incessant fatigue by day ; and to have endured such privations, hardships and sufferings as he did in discharging the offices of his sacred mission, must extort the admiration of all. And yet, influenced I apprehend by the prejudices common to the age against the Roman Catholics, and by the resentment excited against the Indians, the earlier historians of our country have recorded some slanders against Father RASLES, which later writers have copied without examining into their truth.—The first is respecting the Indian who was killed June 10th, 1724, as quoted by Dr. BELKNAP from the manuscript of Mr. HUGH ADAMS. “The slain Indian (says he) was a person of distinction, and wore a kind of coronet of scarlet dyed fur, with an appendage of four small bells, by the sound of which the others might follow him through the thickets. His hair was remarkably soft and fine ; and he had about him a devotional book, and a muster-roll of one hundred and eighty Indians ; *from which circumstances it was supposed* that he was the natural son of the Jesuit Rallè, by an Indian woman who had served him as a laundress.”—Now, we learn from CHARLEVOIX, T. II. p. 107 and 379, that the *Sieur de S. CASTINE* had married an *Abnaquis* ; that the children lived with their maternal relations ; that the eldest son, *the Baron de S. CASTINE*, considered himself as belonging on his mother’s side to the nation of the *Abnaquis*, and in 1721 had become acknowledged as their chief. “From which circumstances it may be supposed,” *with much greater probability*, that the Indian in question was of the family of *Castine*, and not a natural son of the priest. His muster-roll imports his being a chieftain ; and his coronet designates his claim to nobility.

Another aspersion of the character of Father RASLES is, that “He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to the ferocity of the savages, and kept a flag on which was depicted a cross surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole at the door of

his church, when he gave them absolution previously to their engaging in any warlike enterprize.”—This charge is copied from “the New England Courant,” No. 160. How much reliance is to be placed upon news-paper paragraphs, written respecting those with whom hostilities are carried on, the dispassionate will judge. Imputed reasons are not always correct : if they were, the aborigines might infer that the figure of an Indian, with a drawn sword over his head, on the flag of the English inhabitants of Massachusetts, implied that it was borne in menace of an exterminating war against all the Indians.

But the most formidable crimination of the missionary was said to be one of the last acts of his life. “The Jesuit was found in a wigwam, and he defended himself with intrepid courage, but his character was stained by an act of barbarous cruelty. He had with him an English boy of fourteen years, who had been a prisoner about six months, and resolving not to fall alone he shot him through the thigh, and stabbed him through the body.”—We search in vain for the evidence of this revengeful deed. It could not be that it was seen by the invaders, for they were in martial array in the street of the village, and not within the wigwams, and at leisure to see what was transacted there. Who, then, could say, for a certainty, that he was the perpetrator ? Besides, it appears that the missionary rushed out immediately to see what was the occasion of the terrible alarm, and presented himself before the assailants ; either to mediate for the safety of his flock, or to offer his own life for their rescue.

I have made these statements, not as the eulogist of Father RASLES, nor even with any special solicitude to vindicate his conduct as the patron of the Indians ; but to redeem his memory from aspersions which appear to be unfounded, and, by obviating these misrepresentations, to do him the justice, to which his painful labours seem entitled.

LETTER FROM FATHER RALE TO CAPTAIN MOODY.

(Copy.)

NANRANTSOAK, 18 Novemb. [1712.]

Monsieur,

LE gouverneur general du Canada me mande par sa lettre qui m'a été apportée depuis quelques jours, que le dernier vaisseau du Roi arrivé a Quebec le 30 Sept. rapporte que la paix n'est pas encore conclue entre les deux couronnes de France & d'Angleterre qu'il est vrai qu'on en parle fort. Voila ce qu'il m'en dit.

Et d'autres lettres que j'ai reçues m'apprennent que Monsieur L'Intendant qui est arrivé dans ce vaisseau, dit qu'étant sur le point de s'embarquer à la Rochelle on y reçu une lettre de Monsieur de Tallard, qui assuroit que la paix étoit faite, & qu'elle seroit publiée sur la fin d'Octobre.

Or on ne le peut pas sçavoir en Canada, mais on le peut sçavoir à Boston où les vaisseaux peuvent arriver en toute saison, si vous en sçavez quelque chose, je vous prie de me le faire sçavoir, afinq' j'envoie incessamment à Québec sur les glaces, pour en informer le gouverneur general pour qu'il empêche les sauvages de faire aucun acte d'hostilité.

Je suis tres parfaitement

Monsieur

Votre très humble & très

obeissant serviteur

SEB. RALE, S'y.

(Addressed as follows)

*A Monsieur**Monsieur Moody, Capitaine & Gouverneur du Fort, &c.*

[N. B. The above letter is enclosed in a letter from Capt. Saml. Moody to Gov. Dudley, dated "Casco, 10th Decemb." [1712.] He says, "The Indians have made us three visits in my absence, and brought several letters from the Friar, which are inclosed."]

Files of 1715 to 1723.

French letter from "Eli Lauverjat de la Compagnie de Jesus," dated "a Pannagapské ou Pintagonié, ce 14 Decembre, 1718.

Indorsed, "Father Lauverjat's letter to the Governour, 1718." Complaints of encroachments and taking Indians' lands.

"JULY 27, 1721. EASTERN INDIANS' LETTER TO THE GOVERNOUR."

Grand Capitaine des Anglois,

TU vois par le traité de paix dont je t'envoie la copie, que tu dois vivre pacifiquement avec moy. Est ce vivre en paix avec moy de me prendre ma terre malgré moy ? Ma terre que j'ay reçu de Dieu seul, ma terre de laquelle aucun roy ny aucune puissance étrangère n'a pû, ny ne peut disposer malgré moy, ce que tu fais neanmoins depuis plusieurs années, en t'y etablissant et en t'y fortifiant contre mon gré, comme tu as fait dans ma Riviere d'Anmirkangan, de Kenibekki, dans celle de Matsihsan-sssis, et ailleurs, et tout récemment dans ma Riviere d'Anmskangan, où j'ay esté surpris de voir un fort qu'on m'a dit se batir par tes ordres.

Songe grand Capitaine que je t'ay souvant dit de te retirer de dessus ma terre, et que je te le redis maintenant pour la derniere fois. Ma terre n'est à toy ny par droit de conquête, ni par donaison, ny par achapt. Elle n'est point à toy par droit de conquête.

Quand m'en as tu chassé ? Et ne t'en ai-je pas chassé toutes les fois que nous avons eu guerre ensemble, ce qui prouve qu'elle est à moy par plusieurs titres.

Elle n'est point a toy par donaison. Le roy de France dis tu, te l'a donnée. Mais a-t-il pu te la donner ? Suis je son sujet ? Les sauvages te l'ont donnée. Quelques sauvages, due tu as surpris en les faisant boire, ont ils pu te la donner au prejudice de toute leur nation, que, bien loin de ratifier cette donaison, ce qui seroit necessaire pour te donner quelque droit, la declare vaine et illusoire ?

Quelques uns t'en avoient presté quelques endroits, mais scache que toute la nation revoque ces prestes, à cause de l'abus que tu en fais. Quand t'ont ils permis de faire des forts et de t'avancer autant que tu fais dans leur Riviere ?

Elle n'est point à toy à raison d'achapt. Et tu me dis une chose que mes grand pères et mes pères ne m'ont jamais dit. Qu'ils eussent vendu ma terre quand quelques uns en auroient vendu certains endroits, ce qui n'est pas, puisque tu ne puis pas dire que tu aye sufisamment payé la moindre des isles dont tu veux t'emparer, j'ay droit de rentrer dans un bien qu'on n'a pu aliener à mon prejudice, et que j'ay tant fois reconquis.

J'attends donc ta reponse dans 3 dimanches ; si sous ce terme tu ne m'ecris pas que tu te retires de dessus ma terre, je ne te diray plus de te retirer, et je croiray que tu veux t'en rendre maitre malgré moy.

Au reste, ce n'est pas icy la parole de 4 ou 5 sauvages que par tes presens, tes mensonges, et tes ruses tu peux faire facilement tomber dans tes sentimens, c'est la parole de toute la nation Abnaquise répandüe dans ce continent et en Canada, et de tous les autres sauvages chretiens leurs alliéz qui se sont exprez assemblez pour te parler ainsi sur ma terre, et qui, après t'avoir attendu plus de 50 jours, et mes gens, que je suis surpris que tu ne me renvoye point contre ta parole, te somment tous ensemble de te retirer de dessus la terre des Abnaquis que tu veux usurper injustement, et qui a pour bornes la Riviere de Kenibége, Riviere qui la separe de la terre des Iroquois, J'aurois droit de te redemander tout l'espace qui est depuis cette Riviere jusqu'a moy, puisque tu n'en possèdes rien que par surprise, mais je veux bien te laisser dans cette espace à condition qu'absolument il ne logera plus d'Anglois a une lieue prez de ma Riviere de Pegs-akki, ny depuis cette borne le long des bords de la mer qui repondent à toute l'étendue de ma terre, ny dans le bas de mes Rivieres, ny dans aucune des isles qui repondent à me terre, qui sont au large et où mon canot peut alle.

Si quelques particuliers sauvages, adonéz a la boisson,

te disent de te loger où tu logeois autrefois, scache que toute la nation desavoue cette permission, et que J'yray bruler ces maisons apres les avoir pillées.

J'attends ta reponse dans mon village de Nanrantsak^A,
 en François comme je t'écris. Si tu m'écris en Anglois je
 croiray que tu n'as pas voulu estre entendre et que tu
 veux retenir ma terre et mes gens malgré moy, que je
 te dis encore de me rendre, parceque la terre est a moy,
 et que pour mes 4 hommes j'ay donné la rençon dont
 nous sommes convenus pour m'aquiter de ma parole,
 quoyque je ne te doive rien. C'est la parole de toute la
 nation Abnaquise repandue dans ce continent et en Cana-
 da, et de touse les sauvages Catoliques, Hurons, Iroquois,
 Misemaks, et autres alliez des Abnaquis, dont les anciens
 et les Deputez ont paru et parlé au lieu nommé Menaskek
 au sieur.

Le 28 Jul. 1721.

Scaché encor grand capitaine, que toute la nation
 Abnaquise proteste de nullité sur tous les actes que tu as
 passé jusqu'icy avec les sauvages, et parce qu'ils n'ont
 point esté avouez ny reçus de toute la nation, et parce
 qu'ils n'ont esté que l'effet de tes supercheries, comme
 dans celuy de peskadoé, sur le quel tu te fondes si fort, où
 tu fis si faussement entendre aux sauvages que tu estois
 seul maitre de la terre, que le roy de France t'avoit donné
 leur pays ; comme si un roy pouvoit donner ce qui n'est
 pas à luy.

Vu l'effet da la boisson que tu donnes en abondance
 aux sauvages, apres quoy ils te promettent tout ce que tu
 veux.

Vu l'effet de la violence que tu as exercée en leur
 endroit en plusieurs rencontres, et tout nouvellement
 l'hyver dernier, ou apres en avoir appelé six pour te
 parler au sujet des bestiaux qu'on t'avoit tuez, et qu'on
 avoit droite de te tuer pour t'obliger par la à te retirer d'une
 terre qui n'est point à toy, tu les fis entrer dans une maison

* Thus interlined in the original ; and the word *mes* was first written *mais* and then corrected.

et ensuite entourer de prez de deux cent Anglois armez de pistolets et d'epée et en les obligeant de demeurer 4 pour cer bestiaux tuez. Tu as conduit ces 4 hommes prisoniers à Boston. Tu avois promis de rendre css 4 hommes en te donnant 200 castors. Les castors sont donnez, et maintenant tu retiens ces homes. Par quel droict ?

Signature de la nation Abnaquise et des sauvages ses alliez.

Ceux de Narantsuk



Ceux de Pentugset



Ceux de Narakamigs



Ceux d'Anmisskanti



Ceux de Muanbissek



Ceux de Pegsakki



Ceux de Medokteck



Ceux de Ksupahag



Ceux de Pesmokanti



Ceux d'Arsikantegs



Ceux d'sanginak



Leurs alliez

Les Iroquois du *sante*

Les Iroquois de la Montagne



Les Algonquins



Les Hurons



Les Mikemaks

Les Montagnez du cote du
nordLes Papinachois, et autres
nation voisines

OTIS WESTBROOK* TO HON. WM. DUMMER, Esq.

ST. GEORGE'S, *March the 23d*, 1722—3.

May it please your Honour,

MY last informed your honour of my arival in Penobscot river, and would crave leave now to acquaint you that on the 4th instant I sett out to find the fort, and after five dayes march through the woods wee arived abrest of severall islands where the pilot supposed the fort must be ; here we were obliged to make four canoo's to ferry from island to island, and sent a scout of fifty men upon discovery, on the 9th instant, who sent me word they had discovered the fort and waited my arivall. I left a guard of a hundred men with the provisions and and tents, and with the rest went to the scout being forced to ferry over to them ; they had, and wee could see the fort, but not come to it by reason of a swift river, and the ice at the heads of the islands not permitting the canoo's to come round, we were obliged to make two more, with which we ferried over, and by six in the evening arived at the fort, leaving a guard of 40 men on the west side of the river to facillate our return.

The enemy had deserted it in the fall as we judge, and carryed every thing with them ; except the inclosed papers, nothing matteriall was found. The fort was 70 yards in length and 50 in breadth, well stockadoed, 14 foot high, furnisht with 23 houses built regular ; on the south side close by it was their chappell, 60 foot long and 30 wide, well and handsomely finished within and without, and on the south side of that the Fryer's dwelling house. Wee sett fire to them and by sunrise next morning consumed them all. Wee then returned to our first guards and thence to our tents, and so proceeded to the sloops, being judged to be 32 miles distant, Mr. Gibson and several other sick with a guard not being arived ; and when they arived we fell down the river, at the mouth

* Endorsed " Coll. Westbrook's Letter."

whereof, on the 16th current, at 3 of the clock in the morning the Reverend Mr. Gibson dyed.* Wee arrived at this place the 20th instant, where we decently interred him, and three more of our men with the usuall form.

(The letter then details the state of the troops and their provisions, &c.)

Files of 1715 to 1723.

Letter from Joseph Heath and John Minot to Gov. Shute, dated Merry-meeting Bay, May 1st, 1719, speaks of a conference with "the Jesuit" and his *answers*. "After the Jesuit had talkt with us as before inserted in the name of the Indians (as he said) we told the principall Indians thereof who said the Jesuit had told us wrong storeys, and calling a councell declaired they did not consent to what the Jesuit said, and that he spoke his minde and not theirs, and that they did not imploy him to write any letter for them, and that if he sent any letters at any time they desire your Excellency would receive them as his letters and not theirs. Its our humble oppinnion that the Fryer is an incendiary of mischief amongst these Indians and that were it not for his pernicious suggestions your Excellency would not meet with any trouble from them." We are, &c.

Letter from Saml. Moody to the governour, "George Town, June 5th, 1721." "I lately received the Jesuite's letters from Mr. Secretary with your Excellency's directions to interpret them to the Indians and to receive their answer referring to their dismissing said Jesuite which the government hath lately demanded of them. I have seen but few of the Indians since my arrival at George Town :"—states, that he has sent them a message to receive their positive answer to the letter sent them in the winter, &c.

Same to same, June 19, 1721, speaks of his last from "Arrowsick" in which he acknowledged the receipt of

* Benjamin Gibson, A. M. who graduated at Harvard College in 1719. From William Winthrop, Esq. we learn, that he was "a Preacher and Writing School Master in Boston, and died March 16, 1723, at Penobscot. I suppose he went to the Eastward, as a Chaplain."—Ed.

the Jesuit's letters from the Secretary, &c.—says he finds the Indians had debated the matter, and determined not to give any answer to the Governour's letter.

Same to same, July 8, 1721—stating the assembling of the Indians with several Jesuits.

INTERCEPTED LETTER FROM RALLE, 1724.

(Copy.)

MY people returned in the spring having learnt what had passed in the winter, made a party of forty men against the English not with a design to kill, but to put them in mind of their word, and make them draw off. In one night they ranged near ten leagues of the countrey where the English had settled, broke into their houses, bound their men, which they made prisoners to the number of sixty-four, pillaged their houses and burnt all—and this party being returned another fitted out to pillage and burn many houses with we hear a stone fort, and at length they took up the hatchet against the English and carried it to a village of Canada. The warriours set out on their way and being arrived here I embarked with them to go to war, being in all 160 we arrived at the village they went to attack, which consisted of fifty fair houses, supported by five forts two of stone and three of wood. At break of day ten Englishmen coming out of their stone fort with their arms, seven of my people set upon them killed some, but one of ours being wounded in the thigh was brought to the camp, and the English dare not after that come out of their stone fort any more, where all the inhabitants had sheltered themselves to the number of near 600 men besides women and children. My people still inviting them to come out and nobody appearing they fell upon the houses supposing the inhabitants had been there, which they found empty and pillaged and burnt them all with their three forts of wood; they burnt all their works of wood, filled up their wells,

killed their cattle, oxen, cows, horses, sheep, swine ; and these 600 miserable Englishmen saw all this without daring to come out ; and as for myself to pleasure the English I made my appearance and shewed myself to them several times which perhaps increased their fury against me, while they saw me, but dare do nothing to me although they knew that the governour had set my head at a thousand livres sterling, I shall not part with it nevertheless for all the sterling money in England. But that which I see most perplexing and pittiful in all is, that the English still keep their forts, and the Indian arms not being able to do any thing against them, they remain still masters of the land, and unless the French joyn with the Indians the land is lost. This is what now discourageth the Indians for which reason they have left Norridgewalk fort for to people the villages of Canada, they would have carried me with them but I bid them go. But as for me I remain, and they are gone and about eight or nine stays here with me. We know what the Court shall judge concerning this countrey and the Indians have quitted being perswaded that the English to revenge themselves for the damage we have done will come and burn Norridgewock.

Copy—Examined per J. Willard, Sec'y.

The Letter aforewritten was taken among Seb. Ralle's papers at Norridgewock.—J. W.

Endorsed, " Letter from Seb. Rale, 1724."

N. B.—This date of 1724 appears to be in a different hand writing from the words over it ; these words are in *Willard's* writing.

LETTER OF PROFESSOR EBELING TO PRESIDENT STILES.

[It is the intention of the Historical Society to preserve in their Collections a Memoir of their late highly respected member, correspondent and benefactor, Professor EBELING. Ampler materials for such a paper

than can be found on this side the Atlantic, have been applied for, but are not yet obtained. In the mean time it is thought respectful to the memory of that eminent man, to publish the following letter, illustrative at once of the design of his great geographical and historical work, and of his indefatigable labour and intense zeal in the prosecution of it. It is also believed, that the plan of this work, as delineated by the author himself, will be gratifying and useful, especially to the members of the Historical Society. Such a complete delineation of his design, as is here given, has, we believe, appeared in none of our own, if in any foreign Journals; nor is it to be found even in the work itself.

The donation, by the author, to the Society, of the volumes of the "Geography and History of America," so far as published before his lamented death, and the recent reception of his whole American Library, as a donation to Harvard College,* enhance the value of this letter. It is a key to his library, as well as to his book; the rich and copious collection of materials in the one, corresponding with the grand and extensive design of the other. It is, too, we might add, a key to the author himself. It lets us into the latent motives, which influenced him to undertake so vast a work on the subject of a remote country, and a foreign nation—motives which reflect the highest honour upon his philanthropy and patriotism.

The letter was received in November, 1794, and answered by President Stiles in the spring of the following year. The answer was too late for the second volume, which, as appears by a Note at the end of the volume, was *finished* 12 March, 1795. It was, doubtless, reserved for the intended "Supplements and Corrections." The indefatigable author had already employed about twenty years on the work, and he lived to bestow the labour of more than twenty additional years upon it, yet left it unfinished. *Hic diu vixit. Quamquam, cheu! quid est in hominis vita diu?*

The President's letter, a copy of which is preserved, fills 86 quarto pages; and contains as much of the History of Connecticut, "as his avocations and incessant labours of office would admit." It was his last literary essay, written in four weeks, and finished 13 April, 1795, one month only before his death.

In the Catalogue of Professor Ebeling's Library this Letter is called "President Stiles's MS. History of Connecticut;" a title with which the Professor was pleased to honour it, but which the writer would not have chosen to designate what he intended as materials towards such a history, not for the history itself.

The letter of Professor Ebeling was accompanied with the following introductory one from Mr. Barlow. EDIT.]

* Purchased and presented by HON. ISRAEL THORNDIKE.

HAMBURGH, 27 May, 1794.

My dear and much respected Sir,

PERMIT me to ask your attention to a subject which, I am sure, will give you some pleasure in compensation for the trouble it may cost you. Mr. Professor Ebeling, a gentleman of great eminence in literature, philosophy, and republican principles, has undertaken a work entitled, *The Geography and History of the United States*. It will be in five or six volumes. He has made such progress as to be able to send you herewith the first volume. You know that the genuine sources of information, especially with respect to our state, are rare, and some of those few that exist are hard to come at for a person at this distance. In his letter, which accompanies this he will tell his own story, and point out to you the articles which he wants. He will likewise mention those which he has already by him, in order to enlighten your discretion in furnishing him with such others as you may think proper, besides those he mentions by name. Mr. Isaac Beers, to whom we likewise write, will assist you and consult with you on the subject. He is furnished with the means of payment.

Every such attempt to instruct the European world in whatever concerns America, deserves our warmest encouragement, as it serves to induce the oppressed of all nations to come to us ; a migration which at once augments our prosperity and their felicity. And I know no man who possesses more ability and inclination to serve the cause of humanity in this way, than he whom I have the honour to recommend to your correspondence.

It is to be regretted, that the difference of language has placed such a barrier as it has between us and the German literature. We have been content to borrow from them their improvements in science, without being able to relish the beauties of their writers. These are more numerous, and perhaps more excellent, than those of any other modern nation. We have, for some reason or other neglected to cultivate their language, or translate their works.

Among other good authors in this town, I have the pleasure of knowing the great poet *Klopstock*, whom the Germans think as much superior to Milton, as we think Milton superior to him. This difference of opinion is doubtless owing to the badness of the translations in which we read the *Messiah*, and they, the *Paradise Lost*. This charming man is near eighty years of age, he mounts a horseback like a young man, and makes odes with as much fire as Collins.

—I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you and my dear country in the course of next year, and am in the mean time, with great respect and veneration,

Your obedient servant,

JOEL BARLOW.

Mr. President Stiles.



*Professor Ebeling's Letter.**

HAMBURGH, Germany, June 26th, 1794.

Reverend Sir,

It is some years ago, when I resolved to take the liberty of writing to you on account of a Description of America I have undertaken to write. But though I knew your great desire to promote sciences and useful knowledge, which owe you so much, yet I was fearful to be troublesome to you, and to encroach upon your more valuable time, unless I could produce some specimen of my endeavours to make my at present much distracted country acquainted with your happier one. Mr. Barlow, whose friendship I am so fortunate to enjoy as he lives near Hamburgh since some months, assured me that you would kindly pardon the boldness of a stranger, whose ardent desire to describe America in such a manner as would not be entirely unworthy of its happy state makes him wish for the best materials he may be able to find

* The Letter is printed *verbatim*. Instead of criticising a few instances of the German and Latin idioms, we cannot but admire so much purity of language in the composition of a foreigner. En.

out, and who thinks the best way to procure them will be, to apply to those eminent literati who are the best acquainted with the history, government, natural and political state of their country. To whom should I rather apply than to you, reverend sir, whose merits are not unknown even to us, distant so many thousand leagues from you ? I therefore rely upon your kindness and hope you will grant me the favour I require.

I have already published one volume of my Description and History, which I make bold to offer to you. I wish you read German, in order to peruse my book yourself, but I believe there will be at your place somebody who may explain you something thereof, that you may judge whether I am not unworthy of your protection. I was happy enough to find good materials for that part which contains New Hampshire and Massachusetts, but very unfortunate as to Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, which enter into the second part now printing, whereof I send you the sheets ; some of them yet to be reprinted before publication and to be corrected considerably. My plan is rather very extensive. After quoting the best materials known to me as also the best maps I could find out, I proceed to describe the boundaries and extent of the state, §. 1 ; its climate and healthfulness, §. 2 ; the general appearance of the soil, the mountains, promontories, §. 3 ; the waters, etc. Then I consider its produces according to the three reign of nature : viz. §. 5, the mineral kingdom ; §. 6, the vegetables, forrest trees, useful herbs growing wild ; §. 7, agriculture, horticulture, orchards, artificial meadows and their produces ; §. 8, the animal kingdom, as well the natural history (as far as I could get knowledge thereof) relative to wild beasts and birds, as the rearing of domestical ones, §. 9. Fishes and fisheries are considered afterwards, §. 10. The following §§ are dedicated to the inhabitants, their numbers, different species, character, and manner of life. §. 12, I consider the form of the government and the constitution, courts of judicature ; (I thought it adviceable to mention also its former state under the British dominion, quo opposita juxta se posita eo magis illuces-

cant.) §. 13, Finances, revenues, taxes, debts, expenses. §. 14, Military state. §. 15, Ecclesiastical state ; tolerance ; missionaries. § 16, Learning, colleges, academies, schools ; the principal learned men living now in each state, societies of literature, printing offices, newspapers, the liberal arts. To these I have added the charitable societies. §. 17 sqq. are dedicated to trade, manufactures and commerce, which I have endeavoured to treat as amply as possible, because it interests my country and especially the republic I live in. After having enumerated the different branches of manufacturing industry, I consider the situation for trade, navigation, the market places and inland trade, the public institutions for promoting trade, the money, measures, etc. the paper currency, (with a retrospect to the former times,) the banks, interest, laws of commerce ; the principal produces for exportation ; the newest state of navigation compared with elder ones ; coasting trade ; the different branches as well of this as of the foreign trade according to the nations it is carried to. The last part, §. 19, is a topography as complete and exact as was in my power, following the counties and townships. Part of this topography may be thought inconsiderable and rather too minutious ; but considering the rapid increase of North America, it may be useful in future times when a comparison of the former state of the country may be wished for.

§. 20 contains the history of each state, as far as I thought a circumstantial account would be interesting and instructive for Europeans. A principal point of view offered itself to me, which I never lost out of sight, viz. the difference of a state of dependence and of freedom, together with the ways how it was acquired, promoted and founded, as also the immediate effects of its being established.

I confess it is an arduous task I undertook, but I was incited to persevere by the animating beauty of the object, the many imperfect and false accounts Europe has of your country, and the possible good effect which a faithful picture of a truly free republic founded upon the

most solid foundations, could produce in the most part of Europe, so very remote from such happiness as you enjoy. I even dared to flatter myself that my book could in some way contribute to rectify those mistaken ideas of liberty, which begin to prevail in two equally destructive manners, viz. as French libertinism, or English, German, and Russian despotism, have been instrumental in forming them.

I know my book is the more imperfect the more I extended my plan, but I shall willingly sacrifice my little reputation, when I can help to procure better information from others.

When my description of the 15 states and the western country is completed I shall add a separate volume or general introduction to the knowledge of the United States, containing an essay of general natural history, the federal constitution, with an abstract of the laws of Congress digested into natural order, and a history of the revolution; together with supplements and corrections to the former volumes. I suppose all the United States will require 5 volumes; Spanish America (whereof I have very valuable MS. accounts made by the governors) may be comprised in 3 volumes; the English colonies in 1; the French also in 1, and the Dutch, Danish, and Portuguese perhaps in 1 or 2. A general introduction shall be prefixed to Spanish America. It is about 20 years ago since I began to collect materials.

Now I wish to persuade you, reverend sir, to bestow upon me that particular favour, to help me with your advice, especially in indicating to me those sources of information, I was unacquainted with. I have inserted in the letter to Mr. Beers, inclosed for that purpose, a list of books I could make use of, as also of those whose existence I was acquainted with but could not procure them, (in my book they are denoted with an asteriscus*.) You will be pleased to add such, if at leisure, as you find could be found in Connecticut, and may be useful for me. I wish to continue my correspondence with Mr. Beers for the future, and that he may send me if new

works are published concerning the history and geography of the northern states, and I hope you will now and then be so kind as to indict to him such as you judge to be the most valuable, in case they should escape his knowledge.*

I should be very happy if I could be serviceable to you in my country. Our literature is in a very flourishing state, whatever branch of science it may be. We are early acquainted with foreign literature and they are translated soon. Even American books (as Ramsay's History, Bartram's Travels, etc.) but a very great part is written in German. You will wonder when I tell you that in the electorate of Saxony, in two millions of people, there are 700 authors living, and that the whole number of German authors now living (according to a dictionary of them in 4 octavo volumes,) amounts to above 4000, (those excepted who write but pamphlets, sermons, etc.) The great fair at Leipsic (where also all booksellers meet) produced in the year 1792, more than 2227 new books, (so many are enumerated in its catalogue,) whereof 1411 were entirely new productions, 468 continuations, 194 new editions, and 154 translations (which is about two thirds of all the annual produce). Among them,

Divinity, 360 books, one third being Sermons, (*moral* only 2!)

Law, 129, mostly practical.

Physick, 164, mostly therapeutical.

Philosophy, 75, mostly speculative.

Pædagogical, 151, the greatest part written for the lecture of youth.

Political and military, 46.

Æconomical Sciences, 116.

Natural Philosophy, especially chemical, 40.

Mathematics, 53,—architectonical.

Natural History, 83.

Geography, 153.

History, 181.

* ISAAC BEERS, Esq. an eminent bookseller, to whose judgment and taste the literature of our country is much indebted. He died in 1813, Ætat. LXXI. Ed.

Belles Lettres, 413, (including 164 novels and 66 plays!)

Ancient Literature, 98, amongst them 33 new editions of classics.

History of Literature, 38.

Miscellanies, 126.

Such quantity may give a prejudice against quality ; but you will consider that German books are printed from Petersburg down to Bern in Switzerland, and from the interior parts of Transylvania to Kopenhagen. There is much stuff amongst this enormous mass, but also a great deal of good books, mostly in German but also many in Latin, especially excellent editions of classical authors, and those even pretty cheap. Perhaps some of them may be required in your country, and shall be glad to procure you catalogues thereof. There are also printed the best English classical authors in prose, some Italian and many French poets and other French books. If any are wished for, I am entirely at your commands, and wish nothing more than to shew my gratitude for that kindness I beg of you.

You will pardon this long letter. If permitted to have the honour of your correspondence I never shall be so troublesome again as at present, and never presume to encroach upon your time which is better employed in more important occupations, nor trouble you with frequent letters.

I have the honour to be with very great respect,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

C. D. EBELING,

*Professor of History and Greek Language at
the great College of this Town, as also second
Director of the Commercial Academy
at Hamburg.*

NOTE. ED.

SEVEN volumes of the Geography and History of America have been published.

Vol. I.	treats of New Hampshire and Massachusetts.	936 pp. Hamburg.	1793.
II.	— Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York.	1135 pp.	1794.
III.	— N. York and N. Jersey.	692 pp.	1796.
IV.	— Pennsylvania.	920 pp.	1797.
V.	— Delaware and Maryland.	806 pp.	1799.
VI.	— Pennsylvania.*	540 pp.	1803.
VII.	— Virginia.	825 pp.	1816.

The original plan is uniformly pursued, and marked by sections in the body of the work ; but it is no where so readily seen, as in the VIIth volume. In this volume only, the pages have a distinct title for each of the twenty articles, mentioned in the author's plan.

1. Grenzen und Größe.	11. Amphibien, Insekten und Gewürme.
2. Klima.	12. Einwohner.
3. Beschaffenheit des Bodens.	13. Regierung.
4. Gewässer.	14. Finanzwesen.
5. Erzeugnisse. a) Das Steinreich.	15. Kriegswesen.
6. b) Das Pflanzenreich.	16. Religionszustand.
7. Landbau.	17. Schulanstalten und Gelehrsamkeit.
8. c) Das Thierreich.	18. Handwerke und Manufacturen.
9. Zahme Thiere und Viehzucht.	19. Handel.
10. Fische.	20. Ortbeschreibung.

* When the IVth volume was printed, the author had not seen Proud's History of Pennsylvania. We suppose it was the reception of this work, published in 1797, that induced him so soon to resume a subject which had occupied a preceding volume.—Dr. Miller estimates the information of Prof. Ebeling respecting America, as "as by far the most accurate and full that was ever given to the public by an European." *Retrospect.* i. 352.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF CALEB GANNETT, ESQ.

CALEB GANNETT was born at Bridgewater, in Massachusetts, 22 August, 1745. At the age of fourteen years he entered Harvard College, and received his first degree at that seminary in 1763. Choosing the Christian ministry for his profession, he in 1767 began to preach, and in the month of June, the following year, went to Cumberland, in Nova Scotia. In August of the same year he received an invitation from the Associated Inhabitants of Amherst and Cumberland to settle in the ministry; and returning to New England, was ordained to their pastoral care at Hingham on the 12th of October.* The sermon at his ordination was preached by Rev. Dr. Gay of Hingham, a very respectable minister, with whom he had pursued his theological studies, and of whom he always spoke with reverence and esteem. The means of the society being inadequate to his support, he relinquished his pastoral charge in 1771, and returned to New England.† Here he continued to preach until the year 1773, when he was chosen a tutor in the mathematical and philosophical department at Harvard College; the duties of which office he performed till the year 1780. On the decease of the learned and able Professor Winthrop, Mr. Gannett, with James Winthrop, Esq. as an associate, at the request of the Corporation, delivered a series of lectures on experimental philosophy. For several years he was a fellow of the Corporation. The office, to which most of the years of his public life were devoted, was that of steward of Harvard College, upon which he entered in 1780, and in which he continued during the remainder of his life.

He was not less distinguished by the vigour of his intellectual powers, than by the diligent and successful culture of them. His attainments in the abstruse sciences were eminent; in general literature, respectable. To

* See Note I. at the end of this article.

† See Note II.

the solution of difficult and important questions, whether pertaining to science, to theology, to morals, or to common life, he brought a mind acute and discriminating. Though not fluent, he had a rare talent for elucidating the obscure, and disentangling the intricate. Truth was the great object of his researches and contemplations; and while the moral principle inclined, the mental power enabled him, with great exactness, to distinguish the true from the false, the credible from the dubious, the rational from the absurd.

By these intellectual and moral endowments he was admirably qualified for a counsellor; and it is rare to find the man, whose judgment is consulted with so much deference, or relied on with equal confidence.

Fixed in principle, he was stable in character. For purity of motive, and fidelity in action, he was alike distinguished. In public and official duties, he approved himself by his rectitude and precision; in domestic and social life, he endeared himself by kindly affections and benevolent offices.

In projecting and accomplishing great and good designs he was active and persevering, but discreet and considerate. He was one of the first projectors of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; of which he was several years the corresponding secretary, and afterwards a counsellor during his life. To the Academy he made several communications, which are published in its *Memoirs*.* He was early chosen a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was an original member of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; and for many years performed the duties of its treasurer and of a director. He was treasurer of the First Parish in Cambridge thirty-six years; and, for several of the last years of his life, treasurer of the Hopkins' Trust. He was an accurate accountant; and the books of his office, as a steward and a treasurer, were kept in the most methodical and exact order. The arrangements and regulations which he made in the stew-

* See Note III.

ard's office, upon his first entrance on its duties, were of great utility. His improvements were highly estimated by the Corporation at the time, and they have ever since been felt and acknowledged. He was one of the first and most active persons in forming the Cambridge Humane Society, and the library of the First Church in Cambridge. In whatever sphere he acted, he left fair and strong impressions of intelligence and wisdom, of integrity and faithfulness, of philanthropy and piety.

Of religion he was an ornament ; of the church a pillar. His attendance on the Christian ministry and ordinances was devout and constant. His religious principles were strictly in accordance with those of the churches of New England and of the Protestant Reformation. Though disposed and accustomed to free inquiry, he alike disapproved the subtilty of scholastic and the temerity of philosophizing theologians ; and for "the truth of God," though beyond the comprehension of man, he expressed the most profound reverence. Regarding religion less as a speculative theory, than as a vital principle, he estimated it by its influence on the life. On his own, that influence was uniformly visible. It was seen in his religious conversation with Christian friends, in his pious counsels to his children and domestics, in his family devotion, in his grateful reception of the blessings and patient endurance of the trials of life, in his resignation on the bed of sickness, and in the prospect of death. Having performed well the duties assigned him in this world, and become prepared for the next, he made the transition as became a Christian, in the hope of a blessed immortality, on the 25th of April, 1818, *Ætat.* LXXIII.

We are gratified in having permission to subjoin the following very characteristic delineation, from the sermon of Rev. President Kirkland, delivered in the first church in Cambridge, the Lord's day after the interment of Mr. Gannett.

"These reflections" [on the parable, Luke xii. 35—40.] "concern us, who lament the departure of an excellent man, who was interesting and valuable by his character, his relations in life, and the manner of perform-

ing his duty, public and private." In the offices of tutor and fellow of the Corporation, "he discharged his duty for seven years with singular fidelity and great success. He earned the sincere gratitude and respect of the students. We have often heard distinguished members of different classes which passed under his care, speak with emphasis of the pains he took to be useful, and the consciousness which they had of deriving solid benefit from his labours. For thirty eight years, he has been connected with the University in another situation, whilst he has not failed still to advance, in various ways, the interests of science and letters.—You, the inhabitants of this place, have regarded him with esteem and confidence, as a member of the religious and civil community, a magistrate and a neighbour, who by his counsels and services, and by his own edifying example, was a guide and a pillar.

"He considered himself the servant of an absent Master. He encouraged himself in doing and suffering by the principles and hopes of religion. Although pressed with cares, he kept divine things before his mind. He did not sleep at his post, nor indulge in indolence or presumption; being remarkable for his solicitude to be in readiness for what was before him, relating to the duties of the man and the Christian.

"His religion was serious and affectionate, without any morbid fanaticism, and leading to all the parts of Christian practice. We recollect how he made conscience of every portion of his official cares, with what strict adherence to rule, with what punctuality and inflexible probity he conducted business. Whilst excelling in the estimable virtues, and conscientiously accurate in all his dealings, faithful in every trust, true to every promise, and disdaining to dissemble or prevaricate, he was not less marked for discretion and benevolence. He was enabled to show a becoming fortitude and self command in the trials through which he was called to pass. His friends have subjects of grateful and consoling reflection, amidst the tender regret they feel at his loss, when they consider, that he lived long and well; that he gave satis-

factory evidence of his sincerity in religion and in every part of conduct ; that he partook the good of life with cheerfulness, and met its adversities with an equal mind, and was useful and pleasant in all his intercourse with his fellow beings. When it pleased God to call him away, he was ready for the change, having been accustomed to keep all his affairs in order ; and we trust he was ready, by his Christian views and dispositions, to enter upon a nobler sphere of action in another tract of existence beyond the line of time."

NOTE I.

Ordination could not, at that time, be obtained in Nova Scotia. The first sermon preached in that province on such an occasion, was delivered at Halifax, 3 July, 1770, by Rev. John Seccomb, of Chester, at the ordination of Rev. Bruin Romcas Comingoe to the Dutch Calvinistic Presbyterian Congregation at Lunenburg. It is dedicated to Malachi Salter, Esq. whose "zeal to advance the interests of religion in this infant colony" is gratefully acknowledged ; and particularly his "prudent and vigorous measures to obtain and establish a fund for the support of such Dissenting Ministers in this Province, as stand in need of assistance." "Grateful acknowledgments" are also made "to those charitable persons in Boston, whose late bounty afforded them a very seasonable relief." The sermon and the proceedings at *this* ordination are stated to be "the first efforts of the kind to promote the Protestant *Dissenting Interest* in this province."

NOTE II.

By copies of his letters written on this occasion, it appears, that he solicited relief for the people of his charge, with the hope of returning to them ; but that nothing considerable was done, because it was concluded, the relief would be but temporary, and therefore ineffectual. The cause of their failure to fulfil their contract was the

loss of their ministry lands, and consequent removals and divisions. The glebe, it appears, was wrested from the Dissenting Church by an Episcopal minister, who arrived at Cumberland in 1770. In June, 1771, Mr. Gannett wrote to M. Salter, Esq. the gentleman mentioned in the preceding note, "My stay here, I believe, will be but short. The cry is, the Church, the Church! A party spirit is raised and industriously fomented. My people are few, and several of them very poor; and though they remain stedfast in their principles, yet divers are dissatisfied with their situation, and management of affairs, some have moved away; others are going. E——n's coming here has been our ruin."

A full account of this affair, and of the ecclesiastical state of the province, was afterwards written by Mr. Gannett, at the request of Rev. Dr. Chauncy of Boston, who, it appears, was intending to publish it, with a view to a vindication of the Dissenters. His engagements, at the time, seem to have prevented the publication. It is a valuable historical document. An extract is subjoined.

"By the proclamation which Governour Lawrence caused to be published, inviting settlers into Nova Scotia, people were encouraged with the noblest prospects. Besides a large interest in land, which they were to be put in immediate possession of, and all desirable civil liberties and immunities, all denominations of Protestants were to enjoy the exercise of religion according to their several tenets and modes, in a plenary manner. For, notwithstanding the General Assembly in 1758 passed an act, making Episcopacy the established religion of the province, yet all provision was made in the same act for Dissenters of all sects, that were consistent with a civil establishment. They were not only tolerated thereby, but all contracts made between them and their ministers rendered valid, and they excused from all taxes for the support of the established Church. In the grant of townships, a right of land was reserved in each for the first minister, without distinction, to be his property, and a right for a glebe or parsonage, each right containing one acre. The Society for propagating the Gospel

in Foreign Parts bestowed their charity upon the inhabitants, without discrimination, of several towns in the province, to enable them to support schools for the instruction of their children. These things indicated so much impartiality with respect to Protestants of all professions that several hundred families, encouraged thereby, removed from New England into that province."

After relating some cases of controversy between the Episcopal and Dissenting ministers, in which the rights of Dissenters were violated, particularly the case at Cumberland, Mr. Gannett observes, "Hereby the law of the province respecting contracts between Dissenters and their ministers is frustrated. For these rights of land, reserved in the general grants of townships, and appropriated to the first ministers, being supposed property, which the grantees of such townships might give as an encouragement to ministers to settle with them, and having been so used, it is plain, that a posterior grant from the Governour and Council, to the exclusion of a prior incumbent, so far at least invalidates the contract between the incumbent and inductors, or the minister and people." He had previously observed, that "all the inhabitants collectively are but barely able to support the gospel; and the withdrawing of but a few utterly incapacitates them." He here adds: "Many of the people are discouraged. Several have left the province. Others are preparing for their departure; and most of the rest are held only by their interest. Such measures being preventive of any new settlers coming to the place, those who are there cannot sell their possessions, therefore are unable to remove themselves and families elsewhere, and so remain disheartened. It has become impracticable for them under their reduced circumstances, to support their minister, and he has been obliged to ask a dismission from them."

In a letter to Rev. Mr. Seccomb, dated Sept. 21, 1771, Mr. G. gives the same account of the cause of the difficulties at Cumberland, and writes: "I have requested a dismission from my people which they have now under consideration." "Their number, though small at greatest, hath already been reduced almost half."

To the people of his charge he wrote repeatedly ; giving them truly pastoral counsel and solace. In a letter to them, dated at Boston, April 14, 1772, he writes : “ By letters from Halifax, I am told, that the last account of Dr. Moore’s collection was, that it amounted to £. 8000 (the same mentioned before I left Cumberland) and that the doctor is expected in Halifax this month. Wherefore it cannot be supposed that the sum will be much increased. This collection is deposited in the publick funds, where it will yield about 3 per cent. per annum ; and only the interest is to be applied for the support of the dissenting interest. The whole, amounting to but £. 90 will, upon a distribution to the several dissenting societies in the province, be very inconsiderable to each. I cannot learn that affairs at Cumberland are in a better situation than when I left it, or that there is any prospect of their amendment. You appeared sensible of the impracticability of our continuing together in the relation of pastor and people, unless the things I have mentioned, should have a quite different issue ; and therefore must readily perceive the impropriety of striving, when our efforts, instead of being crowned with success, will, in all human probability, increase our difficulties, and reduce us to absolute distress. As I have exposed myself to peril, and endured fatigue to serve you, so would I still undergo hardships and submit to difficulty, if there was any likelihood that it would terminate in your real advantage. But as the probability vanishes upon deliberation, and none of the conditions have been fulfilled, upon the fulfilment of which only I was to return to you ; and since those to whom I have represented your case and consulted, to advise against the farther continuance of our connexion as pastor and people, I therefore request that you would, according to agreement, send me a letter of dismission. It is matter of real sorrow to me, that this is the only apparent method left for propriety of conduct ; that the reasons render such a request, if not absolutely necessary, at least highly expedient. Sensible of the efforts you have made to procure the administration of gospel ordinances among you, I doubt not it will

be grievous to part with them; and be assured, I cordially sympathize with you in the event. We ought to view it as a rebuke from the hand of Him, who is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works, who in his all-wise providence hath brought or permitted this to come upon us." After the most appropriate and excellent advice, he subscribes himself their "sympathizing friend and affectionate brother in our common Lord."

NOTE III.

Vol. I. Part 1st. Art. IX. Observations of a Solar Eclipse, Oct. 27, 1780, made at the University in Cambridge.

Vol. I. Part 2d. Art. XIII. An Historical Register of the Aurora Borealis, from August 8th, 1781, to August 19th, 1783.

Vol. II. Part 1st. Art. XIV. An account of a curious and singular appearance of the Aurora Borealis on the 27th of March, 1781.

MEMOIR OF HON. WILLIAM TUDOR.

WHILE the present volume was in the press, one of the first founders of the Historical Society has passed from the list of the living, to that of our deceased, associates. In conformity to the practice of the Society, the following brief sketches of his life and character are prepared.

WILLIAM TUDOR, Esquire, was born in Boston, the 28th of March, 1750, old style, and died July 8th, 1819. He married, March 5, 1778, Miss Delia Jarvis, and had eight children, of whom three sons and two daughters* survive their father. The family came from England. His grandfather died young in Devonshire, leaving an only son, John, born in 1709; his widow came from England with that child, at the age of six years, to Bos-

* The eldest married Robert Hallowell Gardiner, Esq. of Gardiner, Maine; the youngest Commodore Charles Stewart of the Navy of the U. S.

ton, in 1714. John Tudor died at the age of eighty-six, leaving but one son, William, the subject of this article ; his other sons died early.*

William Tudor was fitted for college at the grammar school in Boston under Master Lovell, and entered Harvard University, in his sixteenth year. He received a bachelor's degree in 1769. His reputation as a scholar, was high : he excelled in the classics ; he had an English conference on receiving his first degree, and delivered the Latin valedictory oration when the class received the second degree. The late Chief Justice Parsons, was one of his classmates, and *chum*, and a sincere friendship continued between them through life.

On leaving the University, he chose the profession of the law, and entered the office of Mr. Adams, since President of the United States, at that time the greatest lawyer in the province ; and among the most eminent of those, who guided publick opinion at that portentous period. He remained three years in this office, and under such patronage naturally acquired those political sentiments, and whig principles of patriotism, which he never afterwards forsook. He was diligent in his studies, and attentive to the duties of his office ; his mind in this situation was not confined to the routine of business in a lawyer's office ; but frequently excited by reflections and discussions on those important principles, which were then daily preparing the revolution.

He was in the habit of corresponding with his friend Parsons, while pursuing his law studies. The following is a copy of a letter written at that time ; it bears the marks indeed of being the production of a young man, but it is here copied, as it furnishes a key to his character, with which his whole life was consistent. If he who was at heart so warm a patriot, could at the age of twenty-three, amid the shocks of those convulsive jarrings, object to the violence of his own side, it is not wonderful that, at a later period of life and in an era of minor interests, he should possess that moderation in his political

* He had three daughters, only one of whom left any descendants. Elizabeth Tudor married H. Savage, Esq. a merchant of Boston, and left a numerous family,—one of whom, James Savage, Esq. is a member of this Society.

conduct, which, amid the strife of parties, always distinguished him.

BOSTON, May 7th, 1773.

“Dear Parsons,

POLITICKS (I mean by that term the civil constitution of a country) and law are so interwoven, that a study of the last necessarily leads us to an acquaintance with the principles of the other; which joined to my situation in Queen Street,* the centre of patriotic disquisition and political inquiry, might easily induce you to form the conclusion you made for my not writing. Perhaps you may be surprised when I tell you that, with the best opportunities and a hundred stimulus's to write, I have never tired the readers of a newspaper with a single *scribbleation*. I feel the want of abilities to be distinguishably serviceable in that way to my country; indeed, *absque hoc*, my indolence of disposition will always prevent my engaging in the scribbling contest. The subject has been so amply discussed as to preclude any thing new; and however necessary it may be, to rouse the spirits of Liberty's drooping votaries, that the argument should often be recapitulated, I should not be fond of being the dull repeater.

“In this town the noble cause is made too much a party matter, whilst our patriotic declaimers are so illiberal as to deny any man, who dissents from their measures, either common sense or honesty. The cause of freedom is the cause of the whole community, and every man, who is one remove from idiotism, must be at heart a friend to it. Would our sons of Liberty adopt sentiments generous as their professed object of pursuit, they would find fewer opposers than they now meet. “The spirit of liberty,” says Voltaire, “is quite independent of the form of government; 'tis the delicious fruit of philosophy. The real philosopher is satisfied in all moderate governments—he knows that there is not, that there cannot be any so well constituted, as to be totally free from fault or inconveniency.” We have many people, and substantial ones too, who think these sentiments not un-

* Now Court Street.

reasonable, and though they might be convinced, if coolly and candidly argued with, that such sentiments were improperly espoused by an American at this day, yet they will not renounce them on the attack of ridicule and abuse, the common method now practised.

“The important question of independency was ably discussed by the governour and the two Houses of Assembly. Whilst we regret that despotism has such an advocate as his *Excellency, we must allow him the credit of great abilities. Learned, subtle, ambitious, and fond of domination, he will be instrumental, should his administration be long, of more essential injuries to this country, than all the governours it has been ever cursed with.

“General Brattle’s publication alone would not have provoked Mr. Adams to a reply. It was in consequence of his advancing the opinion, which he afterwards published, and challenging by name Messrs. Otis, Adams and Quincy to refute it. Unluckily for him the challenge was accepted, and the world informed the general was mistaken. I cannot give you the names you ask for. It was generally thought at the time Mr. Adams had in view a resolve of the Council, on a letter under the signature of Junius Americanus, that contained a severe charge against the lieutenant governour. But in that case the majority was six. Mr. Adams has since assured me he did not mean in that instance, but has declined telling me in what.

“Boston has chosen the same representatives as last year, and it is thought there will be very little change in the next, from the old house. Gray and Brattle if not two or three others, it is supposed, will be left out of the Council.

“The more my acquaintance with the world enlarges, the more disgusted I grow with the noisy intercourse. What I now, and perhaps always really shall want, I endeavour to supply by imagination, and sometimes fancy myself happy in an acquaintance with a chosen group of people, sensible, generous and clever, with easy fortunes

* Governour Hutchinson.

and independent souls, who should possess philanthropy enough to be citizens of the world, and who with St. Evremond could love virtue without austerity, pleasure without effeminacy, and life without a fear of its end. Situated in some cheerful spot, encircled by such a set of friends, cares would be strangers, and every hour arrive fraught with enjoyment.—Was you by, if you did not laugh at me, you might at least very justly ask, what peculiar merit I had to entitle me to such pleasures? But twenty-three, and talk of being tired of the world! ridiculous! Throw aside sentiments unsuited to your age, and learn to strike out enjoyment from every thing. Reason justifies your advice, and judgment whispers act accordingly.

“It is probable you will see one of our friends next month at Falmouth; as he has lost none of the valuable qualities, which originally secured your esteem, the pleasure of meeting will doubtless be reciprocal.

“My half sheet allows me only room to assure you that I am sincerely yours,

W. TUDOR.”

Mr. Theoph. Parsons.

Among some papers of this same date is a character he drew of Parsons, in the manner of Theophrastus and La Bruyere. It was an amusement at that time with some young men to write characters. This was written in 1774, and it may be interesting to read this juvenile prediction of the future eminence of that great lawyer, and excellent man.

“Nature, when she made Crysander, was unkind in point of externals. But though she left him defective in the *trappings* of person, that deficiency was amply compensated by the bestowment of ten thousand amiable and valuable qualities.

“To a vivacity of fancy and promptitude of invention, she joined a penetrating genius and a spirit of investigation that pervaded her deepest recesses. With an industry that difficulties invigorated, and a sagacity that nothing could elude, it is not to be thought strange that he soon became familiar with the whole circle of the sciences.

Though mathematics, logic and metaphysicks gave employment to his abstruser hours, the happy turn of his mind led him to an acquaintance with, and the justness of his taste pointed out the beauties of the belles lettres. Thus whilst he, one hour, laboriously traced the clue that conducted him to a demonstration of Euclid, abstractedly meditated with Locke, or trod the planetary rounds with Newton and Halley ; he could, the next, feel, and feeling admire, the nervous diction, attic wit, noble sentiments and classic elegance, that illume the immortal writings of a Bolingbroke, Pope, Hume or Robertson.

“He is emulous of applause, yet superior to envy. His honesty is without severity, his benevolence without weakness, and his frankness without rusticity. As his friendships are built on these principles, they are few, but they are ardent and sincere.

“If great abilities, united to extensive erudition, are the steps to advancement and the road to fame : if the purest philanthropy can excite esteem and secure affection—’tis impossible Crysander should continue obscure, or ever be friendless.”

His conduct in the office procured him the esteem and confidence of Mr. Adams, which continued through a period of fifty years. A very early proof of this friendship was shewn in a letter which he wrote to his pupil’s father. Mr. Tudor had opened an office at a period of great gloom and discouragement. His mind was depressed by the prospect before him. His father was wealthy, and this was his only son ; but he was of that class of parents, who believe their children will succeed best without their assistance, and who prefer to leave them a large sum at their death, than to see them enjoying a moderate one during their lives. Mr. Adams wrote a letter on this occasion to the father, full of good feeling and sound argument. A copy of it is subjoined, both as a testimony to Mr. Tudor’s early character, and on account of its useful application in a general way.

"BRAINTREE, *July 23, 1774.*

"Dear Sir,

You will be surprised I believe to receive a letter from me, upon a matter which I have so little right to intermeddle with as the subject of this. I am sensible it is a subject of very great delicacy: but as it is of equal importance to your own happiness and that of your only son, I hope and believe you will receive it, as it is really meant, as an expression of my friendship both to yourself and him, without any other view or motive whatever.

Your son has never said a word to me, but from what I have accidentally heard from others, I have reason to believe that he is worried and uneasy in his mind. This discontent is in danger of producing very disagreeable effects, as it must interrupt his happiness, and as it may, and probably will, if not removed, injure his health, and, by discouraging his mind and depressing his spirits, disincline him to, or disqualify him for his studies and business.

I believe, sir, you are not so sensible as I am, of the difficulty of a young gentleman's getting into much business in the practice of the law. It must, in the best of times and for the most promising genius, be a work of time.

The present situation of public affairs is such as has rendered this difficulty tenfold greater than ever. The grant from the crown of salaries to the judges, the proceedings of the two Houses of Assembly in relation to it, and the general discontent throughout all the counties of the province, among jurors and others concerning it, had well nigh ruined the business of all the lawyers in the government, before the news of the three late acts of Parliament arrived. These acts have put an end to all the business of the law in Boston. The Port Act of itself has done much towards this, but the other two acts have spread throughout the province such an apprehension that there will be no business for courts for some time to come, that our business is at present in a manner at an end.

In this state of things I am sure it is impossible that your son's income should be adequate to his necessary expenses, however frugal he may be, and I have heard that he complains that it is not.

The expenses for the rent of his office, for his board, and washing, must come to a considerable sum annually, without accounting a farthing for other transient charges, which a young gentleman of the most sober and virtuous character can no more avoid, than he can those for his bed and board. So that it is absolutely impossible but that he must run behindhand and be obliged to run in debt for necessities, unless he is either assisted by his father, or leaves the town of Boston and betakes himself to some distant place in the country, where, if his business should not be more, his expenses would be vastly less.

I am well aware of the follies and vices so fashionable among many of the young gentlemen of our age and country, and if your son was infected with them, I would never have become an advocate for him, without his knowledge, as I now am, with his father. I should think the more he was restrained the better. But I know him to have a clear head and an honest, faithful heart. He is virtuous, sober, steady, industrious, and constant to his office. He is as frugal as he can be in his rank and class of life, without being mean.

It is your peculiar felicity to have a son whose behaviour and character are thus deserving.

Now there can be nothing in this life so exquisitely painful, to such a mind so humiliating, so mortifying, as to be distrusted by his father—as to be obliged to borrow of strangers, or to run in debt and lie at mercy.

A small donation of real or personal estate, made to him now, would probably be of more service to him, than ten times that sum ten years hence. It would give him a small income that he could depend upon—it would give him weight and reputation in the world—it would assist him greatly in getting into business.

I am under concern lest the anxiety he now struggles with should prove fatal to him. I have written this without his knowledge and I don't propose ever to acquaint

him with it. If you please you may burn this ; only I must entreat that you believe it to flow only from real concern for a young gentleman whom I greatly esteem.

I am your friend and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS."

To John Tudor, Esq. Cambridge.

The lowering aspect of the times discouraged all hopes of peaceable employment, and turned the thoughts of men incessantly to the course they should take in the crisis that was approaching. After Congress had voted to raise an army, and appointed the first generals, Mr. Tudor was elected, July 29, 1775, to the office of Judge Advocate General, and he was attached to the staff of the Commander in Chief, and generally continued near him during the whole period of his service. This department, like every other, was to be organized amidst all the confusion attendant upon new levies, unsettled authority, and ill defined jurisdiction of the individual States, and the Continental Congress. The army was composed of discordant and untried materials. There was in general no want of bravery and patriotism, but an almost total deficiency of discipline ; and the absence of this was in no degree supplied by any deference from unfounded pretension to true courage and skill, the possessors of which had not yet been favoured with an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. In bringing together an army raised at once, without preparation, most of the officers were placed in commands of the same nominal rank which they had held during peace in the militia. If some of these inexperienced men were inadequate to their station, they could not be severely blamed for failure on a first trial. Policy as well as justice dictated that indulgence should be shewn to the errors and failings of those, who were suddenly placed in new and dangerous situations, impelled by patriotic motives to risk themselves with a cause, whose issue was uncertain. All these considerations rendered it difficult to establish that discipline which was of the most urgent importance. The business

of the Judge Advocate was arduous and incessant in this state of incipient organization.

Though the sword was first drawn at Lexington, the scabbard was not thrown away till the battle of Bunker Hill. After that ever memorable engagement, which put an end to all hope from peaceable remonstrances, and left England and her Colonies at open war, the British were confined to the limits of Boston. As soon as General Washington reached the army, the blockade commenced with greater rigour, and was kept up by gradually completing a circuit of posts from the heights of Charlestown to those of Dorchester. The American army was at that time too destitute of all the munitions of war, to carry on an active siege, before the month of March, 1776, when their batteries began to play on the town; and the British army finding it no longer tenable, their evacuation prevented its destruction. For a space of nearly two years the inhabitants had been exposed to innumerable vexations and sufferings. It was a state of things that united the calamities of civil and foreign war. Families were separated and exposed to constant solicitude and alarm. Though in full sight, intelligence of each other's situation could rarely be obtained. Those who were inclosed within the town, and had their friends in the American camp, often heard them reviled by an arrogant army, and those who sided with it; while they who were besieging the town, knew that the blockade subjected their dearest friends to severe sufferings and privations. There was little danger indeed from the batteries, for no regular bombardment took place, but the wants consequent on a blockade were heavily felt.

Mr. Tudor was by these hostilities separated from the lady to whom his affections were engaged, and whom he afterwards married. For the benefit of a better air she resided for some time, on Noddles Island in the family of Mr. Williams. One of his boyish acquisitions was now of use to him; he was in his youth an excellent swimmer. When a boy, being on a visit on board of an English ship of the line in the harbour, the conversation turned upon swimming: and he proposed to jump from

the taffrail rail over the stern, which in ships of the old model was a considerable height, if any one would do the same. A sailor offered himself—the boy took the leap, but the man was afraid to follow. He now profited by a knowledge of this art. To have attempted visiting the island in a boat, would have exposed him to certain capture by the enemy ; but, tying his clothes in a bundle on his head, he used to swim from the opposite shore of Chelsea to the island, make his visit, and return to the continent in the same manner.

After the evacuation of Boston by the English army, he went with our army to New York, where he resided till that was evacuated and then continued with headquarters in the Jerseys. The business of his office was incessant ; among all the trials at which he officiated, there was none, that excited more interest than that of Colonel Henley, which took place at Cambridge in January, 1778. After the capture of General Burgoyne, he and his army were transferred to Cambridge. Colonel David Henley commanded the garrison, that had the care of guarding the prisoners. This garrison was composed of militia, and the mortification of these turbulent prisoners continually vented itself by insulting their undisciplined guards. The outrages had proceeded so far, that great energy was requisite to suppress them. Colonel Henley was a brave, but passionate, impetuous man, and one day after receiving the most excessive provocation from an English corporal, and repeatedly ordering the man to be silent in vain, he seized a musket and pricked him slightly with the bayonet. General Burgoyne accused him “ of the most indecent, violent, vindictive severity against unarmed men, and of intentional murder.” A court martial was ordered, and general Burgoyne was permitted to support the charge as a prosecutor.

Henley was a brave officer, but no orator. General Burgoyne was an able parliamentary speaker, as well as a man of literature and a military commander. He wished to obtain from this trial some credit, that might render him popular with the army, and help him in the unfortu-

nate predicament in which the capture of that army had placed him at home. He exerted all his talents as a speaker on this occasion, and they were by no means inconsiderable, and he affected to consider that "a general massacre of the troops under his command was apparently threatened." Colonel Henley was acquitted. An edition of this trial was printed in Boston, and another in England; the latter was much garbled; General Burgoyne's speeches were very much revised, and those of the Judge Advocate very imperfectly reported. The following are two paragraphs taken from the concluding speech of the latter:

"It has been said that Reeve's" (the man wounded by Colonel Henley,) "behaviour was only firm, not insolent. British firmness often so nearly approaches insolence, that Europeans as well as Americans have been very apt to confound them. The Court will recollect the pains taken, in one or two instances during this trial, to get from the British witnesses their idea of insolence. They all affected to think it impossible a Briton could look insolent. It was, they said, only looking up. But this *os sublime*, this erect countenance which they boast of, leads them to looking down upon the rest of the world, though not always with impunity. Britain is feared because she is powerful. What pity it is that a nation cannot be just as well as gallant. Less pride had prevented the dismemberment of her empire, had saved the blood of thousands: and real magnanimity had, ere this, arrested the hand of destruction from the heads of men, whose greatest fault (once the glorious fault of Britons!) is the love of freedom."

In the following passage the allusion to Miss McCrea, brought tears into the eyes of General Burgoyne:

"But, says General Burgoyne, Colonel Henley's conduct had a great effect on his guards: he was known to be no friend of the British soldiers; he had himself wounded one, and been violent in his menaces against them all; he thus influenced his soldiers to stab and murder whom they pleased, if they belonged to the British army; and ought therefore to be considered as an

accomplice in every outrage which took place. If this reasoning is conclusive, by the same logic the General himself is an accessory to all the murders perpetrated by the ferocious bipeds, the savages, who accompanied and disgraced his army last summer. Ought it to be said that, because these *black* attendants knew that General Burgoyne did not love Americans, that therefore he would be pleased at the butchery of the nerveless old man, defenceless female, and infant prattler?—because he hated ‘rebels,’ he therefore influenced the Indians to massacre that young unfortunate, the inoffending and wretched Miss McCrea!”

A day or two after this trial, the Judge Advocate and Col. Henley met at Roxbury in making a visit to a family, where a lady resided to whom Col. H. was paying his addresses. He fancied himself coldly received, and was in rather a melancholy humour as they rode into town together. In coming over the neck, he abruptly said to his companion; “Col. Tudor, I will thank you to shoot me!—Why, what is the matter now?—You have ruined me.—I thought I had rendered you some service in the trial.—You said I was a man of a passionate, impetuous temper; this has destroyed me in the estimation of the woman I love; you see she received me coldly. You have destroyed my happiness. You may now do me a favour to shoot me.”—Mr. T. was vexed for a moment at this sort of return for the services he had rendered. But these feelings were transient on both sides; they continued friends, and Col. Henley married the lady he loved.

After having served nearly three years, at the most gloomy and discouraging period of the revolution, he resigned his office and retired with the brevet of Colonel. Those who served their country then, served it gratis, except so far as deriving a bare subsistence. He had long sighed for the pleasures of domestic life, and thinking he had performed his tour of duty, he now resigned to take up his profession, that he might support a family. After retiring from the army, he followed the business of the law; taking an interest of course in such objects of

general concern, as from time to time arise to occupy public spirited minds in a free country. Among these may be mentioned the "Warden Act" in 1782. The ludicrous, insupportable tyranny of this odious measure, was then exerted for the last time. He was one of its strenuous opposers, and wrote some articles in the Chronicle against it, under the signature of Crito. In 1791, he was one of the active movers for the establishment of a theatre, and, being then in the legislature, was very instrumental in procuring the repeal of the law against theatrical amusements. A number of documents relating to this business are among his papers, and from them an authentic account of an event of some interest in the annals of the town may be hereafter prepared.

In 1796 his father and mother died at an advanced period of life, the former being 86, and the latter 81 years of age. By the death of his father he inherited a considerable estate, that enabled him to renounce the practice of his profession, to which he had never been very strongly attached. Among the gentlemen who read the law in his office may be enumerated, the late Judge Minot, Fisher Ames, the present Chief Justice Parker, and the Hon. J. Quincy. Our resources for pursuing the study of this profession have been very inadequate; the establishment of a law school in the University at Cambridge, will hereafter give students an opportunity of obtaining more liberal and profound learning in this important profession. Though little credit could be assumed from the reputation of men, to whose studies so little assistance could be given, in the common routine of a lawyer's office; yet a generous satisfaction was felt, from this connexion with gentlemen who afterwards were so distinguished.

After the settlement of his father's estate, he resolved on a visit to Europe, which he had long and ardently wished to make. He went from Boston to London: after passing a few weeks there, he took a journey into Devonshire, and after returning to London went over to France. He passed a few weeks in Paris when the recollection of the early revolutionary atrocities was still re-

cent. Mr. Monroe, now President of the United States, was at that time our ambassador in France, and was recalled whilst Mr. Tudor was there. An affectionate address was presented to him by his countrymen, thanking him for his services, and censuring his recall. There was doubtless some indiscretion in censuring a public step of the government; for which Mr. Tudor had to bear a proportionate share of the blame. The address however was made in the warmth of the moment, and from grateful feelings towards the minister, not only for his courteous, open hospitality, but from the constant and efficient protection he afforded to his countrymen in that period of turbulence and danger, when they were often subjected to arbitrary arrests and extreme injustice.

From Paris he passed through Flanders and Holland, all the principal places of which he saw with attention, and then returned to England. After he arrived in London, he was presented at court, by our ambassador, Mr. King. On the mention of his name, the king smiled and observed in his rapid manner, "Tudor!—what, one of us?" Having been told that he had just come from France, he eagerly made many inquiries respecting the state of that country, the situation of Paris, and the opinions of the inhabitants. These court presentations are generally a matter of mere form; but foreigners introduced by their ambassadors are received apart by the king, and before the subjects of the country. The king's curiosity continued the interview so long, that Lord Galloway, the lord in waiting, who had a great deal of duty to perform, grew impatient and said, "His Majesty seems to be so deeply engaged with *his cousin*, that he forgets what a number of persons are in waiting to be presented." The king in this audience exhibited all the courtesy, and inquisitive good sense, which have always distinguished him.

He soon after left London on an extensive tour through England, Ireland and Scotland, in which he visited almost every county, and saw all the remarkable objects. No man was more alive to the beauties of nature, and he would forego no pains to behold a beautiful or extensive

prospect. He was never tired of looking at picturesque scenery, and often dwelt with delight on what he saw in these countries, which present so much of it to the traveller's eye. The charming landscape of England, where cultivation and taste have developed so many beauties, the mountain scenery and venerable ruins in Wales, the Bay of Dublin, the Lake of Killarney, the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, the view of Edinburgh, and the highland scenery of Scotland, were objects that made a lasting impression on his mind. He made this tour under every advantage and with great satisfaction. The powerful talents, high-minded views, substantial courtesy and dignified manners of Mr. King, gave him great consideration in England; and this was always liberally employed in the service of his countrymen. He procured for Mr. Tudor, from the Duke of Portland, at that time in the ministry, letters of introduction to the lord lieutenant at Dublin, and to the commanders in chief of the army and navy in Ireland and Scotland. One of these letters to Lord Adam Gordon, commanding the forces of Scotland, remains among his papers, his lordship being absent at the time he visited Edinburgh.

After another visit to London, he embarked for Boston. On the passage an incident happened, which shews that kind actions are sometimes practised between those, who at other times quarrel. The ship in which he was passenger was chased by an English frigate, which was so disguised that she was taken for a privateer, and preparations were made for ill treatment. He told his servant to go below and bring him his purse, that he might secure it about him in case of need. The young man in his haste, fell headforemost down the companion way; he was taken up senseless, and his situation gave them some alarm. After the frigate had hailed and inquired who they were, this circumstance was mentioned. They said, the surgeon should be sent immediately, though it was a dark evening and blowing fresh; he came on board, dressed the patient, left directions what should be done in future, and could not be prevailed upon to receive any pecuniary acknowledgment for his visit.

He went to Europe a second time in 1807, accompanied by his wife and youngest daughter, and was afterwards joined in Paris by one of his sons. They went by the way of Bordeaux to Paris. This city then presented a different aspect from the one in which he had formerly seen it. The enthusiasm of the early days of the republic, and the proscription of rank and splendour, were now succeeded by the energy of Napoleon's autocracy, and the ostentation of the imperial court. Most of the emigrants had been restored, and many of them were in place. He had now an opportunity of renewing an intercourse with several individuals, with whom he had been intimate during the American revolution. General La Fayette, who resided in retirement in the country; the Count de Segur, Senator and Grand Master of Ceremonies, one of the most accomplished courtiers of the old *regime*, and whose talents were essential in organizing the new court; and several others. Among these was the Marquis de C., who had been his guest in Boston for several weeks, and who exhibited one of those transformations, which the revolution effected in so many Frenchmen. Deprived of a splendid rank and fortune by that event, he had passed twelve or thirteen years in exile and poverty; during this period he had recourse to some patented inventions for a support. On his return to France he unexpectedly recovered a portion of his property, which he immediately invested in this kind of pursuits. When in this country he was one of the gayest and most heedless of the young French officers; and was now eagerly engaged in various practical improvements, among others introducing the English style of stage coaches; unwilling to have any connection with the new court, but busying himself with wheels, pullies and screws.

The emperor was at this period absent in his Prussian campaign, and society, under an appearance of outward splendour, was in reality in a state of constraint, anxiety and misery. Nothing could be more dull and formal than the fashionable parties. The new noblesse were not yet blended with the old, the polish and ease of former manners had been destroyed, and the forms of society

were to be restored through a process of formality and reserve. The tyranny of the government suppressed all free expression of opinion, and the absence of all the young and middle aged men of France in the army, filled every house with sadness and gloom. Napoleon was watchful that all the persons in place about the court, should expend all they received in contributing to its splendour. This answered two purposes; it presented a dazzling exterior, which might be mistaken for grandeur, and it kept those about him in a constant state of dependence. He intended that his court should possess more attractions than any other in Europe, and it was in most respects on a different footing. A chief object with every government in France always has been to amuse and govern opinion in Paris. At this time, the empress had it in charge to amuse the courtiers. She gave entertainments at the palace, which were called *cercles*; the first singers and actors were employed to perform a few select pieces, on these evenings, and a light, but most exquisite supper was given to the guests. After Mr. Tudor and the ladies of his family had been presented, they were invited several times to these *cercles*, and also to similar entertainments from the other branches of the imperial family. A trifling circumstance will here show how minute the French are in their attentions. In the absence of Napoleon, gentlemen were presented to Cambaceres, and afterwards invited to his table. From very abstemious and simple habits in early life, he became one of the most luxurious and ostentatious of the imperial court. He was remarkable for the expense and excellence of his table. Mr. Tudor was invited to dine with him, and as he did not speak French, though he understood it, a gentleman was placed by him who spoke English perfectly. In the course of the dinner he was offered a piece of plum pudding, which he declined, but was told that it had been prepared purposely for him, thinking it was a national dish—of course he could not refuse to take a piece. Though he was fonder of the simple dishes of his own country than the costly and scientific preparations of French cookery, he was always

willing to admit, that this dinner of the arch chancellor could not be surpassed. After passing a year in France, he returned home by the way of Rochelle and New York.

He was a public spirited man in his feelings, and while it was in his power was always ready to take a share in any undertaking of general utility. He was one of the original subscribers to Charles River Bridge, the Middlesex Canal, and many similar objects. Soon after his return from Europe, the first time, he was much struck with the position of the land at Dorchester Point, since called South Boston, and that it would be productive of great public, as well as individual advantage to connect this land with the town. He bought the part nearest to Boston, called Nook Hill; his views at first did not extend further; several gentlemen however joined with him, made additional purchases, and went to very great expense in levelling ground, building sea walls, &c. This was entered into, with the expectation, that a bridge would be built, to connect it with the centre of the town. The gentlemen who held property at the southerly part of the town, thought this bridge would be injurious to their interest; and though many doubted whether this opinion was well founded, at least in any degree equal to their belief, their opposition was so efficient, that after one of the most animated and obstinate struggles ever carried on in Boston, the contemplated bridge was prevented, and all the original views in the undertaking were thwarted. The great expenditures incurred on this property, and various disappointments for a series of years, produced great embarrassments to him, and finally involved and caused the loss of his whole property.

This calamity was a severe one; those persons who knew his generous disposition, were aware that it must be deeply felt, but his most intimate friends rarely heard him complain of this reverse of fortune. He bore it with cheerfulness and magnanimity. While in possession of wealth, no man was more ready to lend assistance to his friends, or to aid any object of charity; and when deprived of it, he had the satisfaction of knowing that no

others were involved in his misfortunes, that no man suffered any loss from him.

He was blessed with a healthy constitution, and but once or twice in his life was affected with any illness, but he met with two serious accidents in the fracture of his limbs. The first was in the year 1791, in mounting a very restive horse; the animal started, kicked him in the leg and broke it. The fracture was a compound one and the flesh bruised; the weather was very hot, and the late Col. Bradford, who sat by him that night, thought that he would be unable to obtain any rest without the aid of opium; but to his surprise, he slept as soundly and quietly, as if no accident had happened, without taking any opiate whatever. It was very fortunate for him that he could, under almost any circumstances, compose himself to sleep, and the pain, mental or physical, must have been very acute, that should have deprived him of his rest. In 1816 he met with a more severe accident in its consequences, by breaking his knee-pan, which happened from a fall in walking over some ice in the evening. This misfortune left him lame, and prevented his walking to any distance. The privations it occasioned were great, for he was fond of exercise, and of taking long walks. He said that it would shorten his life five years; and doubtless the effort and difficulty of walking wore upon his constitution: but he bore this misfortune with the same philosophy that he did others, and seldom complained of an evil that occasioned daily and almost hourly inconvenience.

Whenever the subject of dying was brought into conversation, he always expressed a wish that his death might be sudden. In this he was gratified. He had been troubled with a slight indisposition for three or four days, which however did not prevent his going out every day. On the morning of the 8th of July, after having taken a prescription that had been ordered, which was deferred perhaps too long,—for he had always the greatest unwillingness and repugnance to take medicine,—he laid in bed conversing with his wife, who was sitting by the bed side, for upwards of an hour, with perhaps unusual cheerfulness:

and looking upon a hanging garden opposite his windows, that he seemed to contemplate with particular pleasure, and which he once or twice observed he should delight to be walking in—an apoplexy came on, and after a slight struggle for a few minutes, he expired without a groan.

He filled different public employments. He was Judge Advocate General of the army from 1775 to 1778. He was commissioned as a magistrate in 1781, and was the latter part of his life in the commission "throughout the Commonwealth." He was a representative for Boston in the legislature from 1791 to 1796; a Senator of Suffolk from 1801 to 1803; Commissioner of Bankruptcy in 1801 and 1802; Secretary of State of Massachusetts 1809 and 1810; Clerk of the Supreme Court from 1811 to his death. He was a member of several charitable societies, and Vice President of the Cincinnati.

In all that regarded the public weal, he felt the strong sympathy that belongs to the enlightened citizen; the national prosperity, and the increase of his native town and state, always afforded him a very lively satisfaction. He was always ready to promote any charity or any public work, as far as his means would permit. His manners were easy, natural, and frank. He had a radical dislike to all kinds of disputes and passionate arguments; but was always ready to participate in the cheerful pleasures of social life; he was quick in his feelings, and susceptible of very lively and strong impressions—fond of the society of young people, and of moderate gaiety. As a husband and parent he was all indulgence and kindness. He bore severe reverses and personal ills without repining, and without being subdued by them; and he possessed in the highest degree, that abnegation of self, which in great things goes to the formation of the philosopher, in lesser ones, the gentleman.

He was one of the original members of our Society, and officiated as Treasurer from 1791 till he went to Europe in 1796. He was one of the committee for publishing the second volume, and wrote an article on the subject of a national name for the people of the United

States in the sixth volume, and some other communications. He wrote with energy and elegance, but had no ambition of authorship. He had left in print three orations ; one before the Town, 5th of March, 1779, one before the Ciucinnati, 4th July, 1791, and before the Charitable Fire Society. He left several MS. journals of tours in Europe and this country, which were only intended for the amusement of his family.

He was in the habit of corresponding with President Adams from the year 1774 to within a few weeks of his death, with occasional interruptions. This correspondence, within the last two years, was very active ; and arose in part from a playful remark of his, that "he wished he could draw the old man out," which Mr. Adams has more than once alluded to. The letters of President Adams related to various public characters and events, of which he had a very intimate knowledge ; and which is fortunately preserved, to throw a strong light on several interesting points of our history. A part of these letters, those particularly that related to James Otis, have been published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, and Niles's Weekly Register at Baltimore, and since collected in a volume, with the revolutionary pamphlets of Novanglus and Massachusettensis. The correspondence with President Adams, in former times, was confidential and private. Three or four letters are selected from it at a very early period, to shew the strong interest, and the early views of independence, which were felt by the writer ; a letter from General Washington, which contains an opinion on one of the works of our former associate, Judge Minot : some extracts, also, from the earlier parts of Mr. Ames's correspondence, are selected, because they give some account of the organization of our present happy government. Perhaps some letters of Mr. Tudor, and others addressed to him, relating to public events, may be selected for a future volume.*

* This account has been too hastily prepared to admit of obtaining and selecting from his correspondence, all that was interesting, and particularly his own letters addressed to different persons, and of which he kept no copies. The limits too of the volume have been already exceeded.

*From General Washington to W. Tudor, Esq.*MOUNT VERNON, *August 18th, 1788.*

Sir,

I HAVE just received your friendly letter of the 26th of July, together with the history of the Insurrections in Massachusetts, and cannot delay to return you my thanks for these tokens of your regard.

Though I have not yet had time to look through the book, from the interesting nature of the subject, and the judicious manner in which it seems to be handled, I anticipate considerable amusement and information. The apology for the publication at the present time is well conceived, and forms a just discrimination between the circumstances of our own and some other countries.

The troubles in your state may, as you justly observe, have operated in proving to the comprehension of many minds, the necessity of a more efficient government. A multiplicity of circumstances, scarcely yet investigated, appears to have cooperated in bringing about the great, and I trust the happy revolution, that is on the eve of being accomplished. It will not be uncommon that those things which were considered at the moment as real ills, should have been no inconsiderable causes in producing positive and permanent national felicity. For it is thus that providence works in the mysterious course of events,

“From seeming evil still educing good.”

I was happy to hear from several respectable quarters, that liberal policy and foederal sentiments had been rapidly increasing in Massachusetts for some time past: it gives me additional pleasure to find that labour is becoming more productive, and commerce more flourishing among the citizens.

If I have formerly approved myself inclined to subserve the public interest, by fostering youthful merit, I shall now claim to be credited, when I assert that my cordial desires for the happiness of the republic and the pros-

perity of its friends are by no means diminished : and particularly when I add that, with great esteem,

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

W. Tudor, Esq.

From General Knox.

HEAD QUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN, 4th May, 1777.

Dear Judge,

I RECEIVED your favour by the post, for which I thank you. The arrivals lately at Boston amply make up the loss at Danbury, which was very great—It was a bold push if they thought the people would have opposed them, but I believe they were led into the secret by their good friends the tories, who have uniformly deceived them—they paid a full Lexington price for the pork and beef, and that at a time they could ill afford it. Reports say you are to be attacked at Boston by General Burgoyne with 10,000 Germans, and 3000 British. This may or may not be true, but you ought to be prepared ; piers ought to be sunk between the Castle and Governor's Island, and batteries erected at the north part of the town. But I am fearful that the good opinion which my countrymen have of their harbour, will prevent them from taking the only method to secure the town.

General Howe still threatens Philadelphia, but our force is now so respectable, that we dare defy him to put them in execution. Pray write me the prevailing sentiments and news.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours hastily,

H. KNOX.

Colonel W. Tudor.

From the Honourable John Adams.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 29, 1774.

Dear Sir,

I WISH it was in my power to write you any thing for the relief of your anxiety, under the pressure of those calamities, which now distress our beloved town of Boston, and province of Massachusetts. The sentiments expressed in your last to me, are such as would do honour to the best of citizens, in the minds of the virtuous and worthy of any age or country, in the worst of times. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

Would'st thou receive thy country's loud applause,
Lov'd as her father, as her God ador'd,
Be thou the bold asserter of her cause,
Her voice in council, in the fight her sword.

You have no adequate idea of the pleasures or the difficulties of the errand I am now upon. The Congress is such an assembly, as never before came together on a sudden in any part of the world. Here are fortunes, abilities, learning, eloquence, acuteness, equal to any I ever met with in my life. Here is a diversity of religions, educations, manners, interests, such as it would seem almost impossible to unite in any one plan of conduct.

Every question is discussed with a moderation, an acuteness and a minuteness equal to that of Queen Elizabeth's privy council. This occasions infinite delays. We are under obligations of secrecy in every thing, except the single vote you have seen approving the Resolutions of the County of Suffolk. What effect this vote may have with you is uncertain. What you will do God knows. You say you look up to the Congress. It is well you should: but I hope you will not expect too much from us. The delegates here are not sufficiently acquainted with our province, and with the circumstances you are in, to form a judgment what course it is proper for you to take. They start at the thought of

taking up the old charter—they shudder at the prospect of blood—yet they are unanimously and unalterably against your submission to any of the acts for a single moment.

You see by this what they are for, viz. that you stand stock still, and live without government or law, at least for the present, and as long as you can. I have represented to them, whenever I see them, the utter impossibility of four hundred thousand people existing long without a legislature, or courts of justice. They all seem to acknowledge it, yet nothing can as yet be accomplished.

We hear perpetually the most figurative panegyrics upon our wisdom, fortitude and temperance—the most fervent exhortations to perseverance ; but nothing more is done.

I may venture to tell you that I believe we shall agree to non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation, but not to commence so soon as I could wish.

Indeed all this would be insufficient for our purpose—a more adequate support and relief to the Massachusetts should be adopted. But I tremble for fear we should fail of obtaining it.

There is however a most laudable zeal, and an excellent spirit, which every day increases, especially in this city. The Quakers had a general meeting last Sunday, and are deeply affected with the complexion of the times. They have recommended it to all their people to renounce tea ; and indeed the people of this city of all denominations have laid it generally aside, since our arrival here. They are about setting up companies of cadets, volunteers, &c. &c. &c.

It is the universal opinion here, that General Gage is in the horrors, and that he means to act only on the defensive. How well this opinion is founded, you can judge better than I.

I must beseech you to show this letter to no man, in whom you have not the most perfect confidence. It may do a great deal of mischief.

We have had numberless prejudices to remove here. We have been obliged to act with great delicacy and caution. We have been obliged to keep ourselves out of sight, and to feel pulses and sound the depths ; to insinuate our sentiments, designs and desires by means of other persons ; sometimes of one province and sometimes of another. A future opportunity in conversation will, I hope, make you acquainted with all.

Adieu.

JOHN ADAMS.

From the same.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct 7, 1774.

Dear Sir.

I HAVE just time to thank you for your letters by Mr. Revere, and all of your favours. The task which lies upon me here is very arduous. You can form no conception of it, and I can give you no idea of it. The assurance you give me of the great dependence of the people, upon the result of the deliberations of the Congress, increase my anxiety. I fear the operations of the continent will be too slow, to afford immediate relief to Boston. What shall be done for that town is the most difficult question we have before us. The professions and real dispositions of the gentlemen seem to be the very best. But at this distance from you, we who come from you, can scarcely form an adequate idea of your state, much less can strangers, to whom words and descriptions can convey but very imperfect notions.

I have taken great pains to inform the gentlemen, and to know their sentiments. The proposal of some among you, of reassuming the old charter, is not approved here at all. The proposal of setting up a new form of government of our own is less approved still. The general opinion seems to be, as far as I can collect it, that the courts of justice should go on upon the old plan, according to the charter and laws of the province. The governor cannot remove any of the judges or justices, according to the charter, without the advice of his Council

of Fifteen, which they will never give, if for no other reason, because they will never be asked. To this there are two objections ; the first that the superior judges and the justices may refuse to act. Whether they will or not, we at this distance cannot determine. This if practicable would be most agreeable to the gentlemen here. The other objection is, that this will not relieve Boston. This is certain, and there is no gentleman here who can devise a method for the relief of that devoted town. My feelings for its distresses are exquisite. I lie down with it in my mind, I dream of it all night, and awake with its ghastly spectre before my eyes.

I wish that you and all the rest of our friends had been more explicit, in your private, confidential letters to us, in pointing what was thought of, and what was desired by the people of Boston and the Massachusetts. The expressions in all your letters are a little enigmatical—we are left to guess at the meaning. If it is a secret hope of many, as I suspect it is, that the Congress will advise to offensive measures, they will be mistaken. I have had opportunities enough, both public and private, to learn with certainty the decisive sentiments of the delegates and others upon this point. They will not, at this session, vote to raise men or money, or arms or ammunition. Their opinions are fixed against hostilities and ruptures, except they should become absolutely necessary ; and this necessity they do not yet see. They dread the thoughts of an action, because it would make a wound, which would never be healed ; it would fix and establish a rancour, which would descend to the latest generations ; it would render all hopes of a reconciliation with Great Britain desperate ; it would light up the flames of war, perhaps through the whole continent, which might rage for twenty years, and end in the subduction of America as likely as in her liberation.

In a letter which has been received here, in several indeed, the thought has been thrown out, of removing the inhabitants out of Boston. This would be the grandest movement imaginable, if it is practicable. But how all their effects can be removed ; how 20,000 people can go

out; where they can find support, I know not. It has always been my opinion, that it was best for every man, woman and child, who had an inclination to go, and could find a place, to leave the town. I removed out myself upon this principle; although a different sentiment prevailed generally at that time.—The Congress will this day consider the case of Boston, and I will write you more particularly in the evening.

[Nothing more is said on the subject, but the same letter has the following, under a later date.]

October 9th.—Mr. Revere will give you all the news. I have this day been to a Romish chapel. My imagination is so full of holy water, crossings, bowings, and genuflections, images, paintings, crucifixes, velvet, gold, but above all music; I am amazed that Luther and Calvin were ever able to break the charm and dissolve the spell.

Adieu,

JOHN ADAMS.

[The following letter has on the superscription, “favoured by General Washington,” and was probably brought when he came to take the command of the army.]

PHILADELPHIA, *June 20th, 1775.*

Dear Sir,

I HAVE lamented excessively the want of your correspondence, ever since I have been here. Not a line from Dr. Winthrop, Dr. Cooper, Swift, Tudor, from some or other of whom I was accustomed, the last fall, to receive letters every week. I know not the state, the numbers, the officers of the army, the condition of the poor people of Boston, or any thing else.

I have taken the liberty to mention you to General Washington, for his secretary, which is a very genteel place. My brothers here very cheerfully and unanimously concurred with me in the warmest terms; a great interest, however, is making for Mr. Jos. Trumbull and for others. What the General will do, I know not. I would have

you wait on him respectfully and welcome him to the army, and let him know that I desired you to call on him : invite him to your father's, and offer your service to him. You will be pleased with him. He is brave, wise, generous and humane. Our army will be the best military school in the empire.

JOHN ADAMS.

From the same.

[PHILADELPHIA,] *April 24th, 1776.*

Dear Sir,

YOUR favour by Mr. Palfrey I received this evening, and it was the more agreeable, because it resolved a question I had often asked, and never before could obtain an answer, viz. whether the Judge Advocate was come with the army to New York.

I am very sorry to hear that Boston is in so defenceless a condition. That harbour must be made impenetrable at all events. I think our people will exert themselves, but I could have wished that more troops had been left there, at least for a time.

It gives me pleasure to learn that New York is put in so good a posture of defence, but I wish I could hear that the inhabitants were better pleased with their military visitants. There is one event, which I think would essentially alter the public character and conduct of those people, and that is, the institution of a new government.

This point must be accomplished in that, and every other colony. South Carolina has nobly led the way, and I hope, and from the best intelligence, believe, that North Carolina, and Virginia will follow the example, with equal wisdom and magnanimity. The Jerseys, too, have the same thing in contemplation. This province and Maryland will be the last, but not the least resolute, when they do adopt the measure.

I wish you would make this a subject of conversation as much as you can, both among the gentlemen of the

army and the citizens, and convince all of the expediency, practicability and necessity of this measure. Believe me, there is nothing on which the salvation of America more depends. When this step is taken, the new legislatures would exert themselves with tenfold alacrity in every warlike preparation by sea and land. They would study and labour to better purpose in manufacturing saltpetre, powder, arms, clothing and every thing they want.

Besides, it would cement the whigs and discourage the tories. It would introduce order in the place of confusion. In short the advantages are innumerable, and the disadvantages none.

How is it possible for people to hear the crier of a court pronounce, God save the king! and for jurors to swear well and truly to try an issue between our Sovereign Lord the King, and a prisoner, or to keep his Majesty's secrets, in these days, I can't conceive.—Don't the clergy pray that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies, yet?—What do they mean by his enemies?—Your army?

Have people no consciences, or do they look upon all oaths to be custom house oaths?

You must not mention my name; you know the reason; it will do more good to come from yourself.

The New York Congress has done very well in their resolutions about saltpetre and powder, and their Council of Safety I think have done very well. The friends of liberty in that city and colony have great merit; they have struggled with many embarrassments; they ought to be treated with great respect; and indeed the lukewarm, the moderate, the timid, and even the trimmers and tories should be gained by gentle treatment, where that will do.

I wish to know if Major Austin and Mr. Rice are at New York; and also to know what regiments are left in Boston; who are the colonels?—Write me by every post; don't omit one.

From Mr. Ames.

NEW YORK, *April 1, 1789.*

Dear Sir,

I WILL not pretend that I had any right to expect a letter from you, till I had first written to you. Therefore I will not delay to establish my title to that pleasure. For I must take leave to assure you, that I shall feel very happy in your correspondence.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that a quorum of thirty representatives attended this morning, who proceeded to choose Frederic Augustus Muhlenburg, of Pennsylvania, speaker, and John Beckley, of Virginia, clerk. Mr. Otis confines his pretensions to the clerkship of the Senate. The House adjourned till to-morrow, and will then proceed to organize, &c.

The Senate have eleven only ; Mr. Reed of Delaware is expected daily, for the twelfth. It is not clear that they will form this week ; but it is very confidently affirmed and expected ; of course the business of counting the votes must be delayed, and their majesties elect, (their town meeting majesties, as Hughes calls them) must remain several weeks longer on a footing with their fellow citizens. However, before their arrival, we trust we shall be engaged in business, and be ready with some very necessary acts. The revenue and judiciary cannot be postponed. They are the law and the prophets of our government, and perhaps of every government. The judiciary will be an arduous business. Men of inquiry must turn their thoughts to it, and furnish all the hints which may occur to them.

A great majority of the members of both Houses are federal. A right and temperate administration of government is now the only desideratum. The feds have too much faith in its *good*, and the anti's too much forecast of its *ill* tendencies. Both will be baulked probably.

The Federal Hall is spacious and noble, and so nearly finished, that we shall sit in it to-morrow ; we met in a

smaller apartment to-day. The people of this city are very zealously federal, and have paid a great sum of money for the building: Their zeal will probably make brother King their representative for the State Legislature. He is nominated. This state is on fire about governour—but the fuel does not seem so dry as it is in Massachusetts. I wish to be informed about the politics and events of the day.

From the same.

NEW YORK, April 25, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I THANK you for your favour per mail, and I assure you that I shall be happy to procure that sort of gratification, from time to time, upon the terms of communicating any thing from this quarter, which may be worth your notice.

I cannot act the philosopher, with regard to the intemperate party spirit of our state. The power of the State Legislature extends to the greater part of the objects of government. This fiery zeal will not only disturb the tranquillity, but endanger the rights of the citizens, and we shall feel the difference between good and bad government in a multitude of cases, in which the Congress cannot or will not interpose. The federal government is not an Hercules, and if it was, it is yet in the cradle, and might come off second best in a struggle with the serpent. The House of Representatives is composed of men of experience and good intentions, but we have no Foxes nor Burkes. They will be inclined to a temperate, guarded policy. In the present situation of America, and perhaps in almost every possible situation, it will be necessary for the government to follow, rather than to controul the general sentiment. The dissemination of just sentiments is not very difficult. The struggle to procure the adoption of the constitution, has sufficiently disposed the most influential men to the belief and propagation of the opinions most favourable to government. If the imprudence of the government should

not hurry them, by measures repugnant to these prepossessions, into the opposite system, I am in hopes that we shall think and act as a nation, and in proportion as state prejudices and preferences shall subside, the federal government will gain strength. For some time the latter will act a temporizing part, though I am not certain that it is ever the safer.—We are a little afraid to direct that all officers, *state* as well as federal, shall be bound by oath, &c. It is said that the states will make proper provision, and it will discover a jealousy of their good intentions, to direct them to do what the constitution, which is already law, prescribes. We are voting duties with less circumspection. For the sake of a great revenue we impose high duties. An high profit to the smuggler will defeat their efficacy.

Sunday afternoon, 26.—The papers will inform you of all the nothings in regard to the arrival of the President and Vice President. The people were disposed to pay all possible respect to them. When I saw Washington I felt very strong emotions. I believe that no man *ever* had so fair a claim to veneration as he. Next Thursday he is to be received in form by the two Houses, and to take the oath in public. This will impede business a good deal till it shall be over. Fireworks are prepared, which I hope will have a better effect than the illumination. This was done suddenly, it having been countermanded. A violent rain at the time, and the lower windows and upper windows of four story houses being, for the most part, dark, these circumstances took off much of the brilliancy of the spectacle.

From the same.

NEW YORK, July 12, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I AM happy to find that you approve the decision of the House upon the question of the President's power of removal from office. The men of information and property, who are stigmatized as aristocrats, appear to me more

solicitous to secure liberty than the loudest champions of democracy. They not only wish to enjoy, but to perpetuate liberty, by giving energy enough to government to preserve its own being, when endangered by tumult and faction. A mob is despotic *per se*, and it tends to destroy all liberty. One Abner Fowler, it is said, in 1787, would have the town instruct their members against the constitution—for, he observed, it would destroy their liberties, they could never have another mob. I wish that his judgment may be verified. The executive branch of our government is not strong. I am sure the people cannot be interested on the side of depriving him of any part of his constitutional powers. Those who argued on that side, seemed to consider themselves as the defenders of liberty—pointed out the danger to the people, and the shameful usurpation of power, in deciding as it was decided. They said the constitution was not express in giving the power to the President—constructions were, they said, replete with danger, and then they proceeded, upon the strength of construction, to prove that the Senate has the power of advice in removals. This opinion seemed to nourish their zeal, and made them inflexible in their opposition to any infringement of the constitution. This will appear to the world a serious proof of the degree in which the understandings of men may be misled, when their passions are heated. This debate seemed to menace faction, but the good humour of the House has returned, and business goes on again as agreeably as formerly. To whatever cause it may be owing, the fact is certain, that there is very little of party spirit in our house, and less seeming intrigue and cabal than I have ever seen in any public body.

Our progress has been slow. There seems in the public to be a general disposition to excuse it, to bring into view the complex nature of the business, and to call it by the name of wisdom and prudent caution. We have certainly proceeded more tardily than I expected, or will affect to approve. But the application to business has been unexceptionable. The whole body actually attends. Not a member absent, except four or five with

leave. Punctual attendance of the whole, and at the hour, is given ; and very few retire, unless to drink water in the committee room, during the five hours attendance. Our collection bill has been pushed as diligently as I ever knew business prosecuted. It is reported by the committee of the whole to the House, and will be sent in a few days to the Senate. The judicial is before the Senate still. They have laboured upon it as hard as so many schoolmasters or merchants' clerks. I expect it in our House in six or eight days. It will be debated warmly, and I am afraid will not be treated as a system, but made patch work by fanciful amendments. We begin to talk of a recess in August. I wish it most ardently, but am afraid it will not take place till September.

From the same.

NEW YORK, January 17, 1790.

Dear Sir,

THE report of the Secretary of the Treasury has set curiosity in motion. It is allowed to be a masterly performance—is very long—is ordered to be printed, and taken up in the committee of the whole on Thursday week. The state debts are proposed to be assumed, and all the debts, except foreign, reloaned at four per cent. It is not to be presumed that any system, especially one so complex and important, can pass without great debate. Perhaps it ought not to be wished.

I hear that Mr. — is going to eat up the bar, not, as the opossum does her young, for protection, but as the turkey-cock eats grasshoppers.

An excise on spirits, wine, teas and coffee is proposed to furnish the cash. How will this suit the fair traders ? The other sort of gentry I think will not be suited.

From the same.

NEW YORK, Feb. 7, 1790.

I THANK you for your esteemed favour by the mail. The attempts of Mr. — may not demolish the

bar, but they serve to prolong the silly prejudice against them. His whimsical violence, and overdoing the matter, may perhaps disgust even prejudice, and turn the current a little the other way against the persecutors. I suppose the world will not allow the lawyers to compare their persecutions with those of the primitive Christians.

I perceive our General Court have a fondness for paying debts, and Mr. Edes's paper complains of the hardship and danger of having them paid by a foreign government, for whom, and at whose special instance they were contracted. No doubt these people would claim repayment of the United States. How is that to be reconciled to the project of keeping the debt alive, as a good thing, and a nurse to the sovereignty of the state. Or would it be expected that the state should get paid by the U. S. and refuse to pay the creditors afterwards? For payment would destroy this good thing the debt. I should think our people mad if they should finally oppose the assumption of the state debts, which has clogged industry, kept the state poor and uneasy, and kindled one rebellion, and will banish the farmers to the western woods.

I have actually sought for the Bath Memoirs for Mrs. Tudor's memorandum, hitherto without success. The book is not in the New York library, where I went to inquire for it. If possible, I will send the information she desires. Please to present my most respectful regards to her. A young Mr. Martin Hoffman is now in Boston, and I promised to give him letters of introduction, but shamefully forgot it. You will see him, however, I presume, as his agreeable mother says she is acquainted with you. Permit me to hope that you will introduce him to the good folks, whom he may wish to see. I told him in particular that I would write to Gore.

To-morrow we are going to turn financiers—scarce a head in New York that is not ready to burst with a plan. The issue is very doubtful, as many oppose the assumption of the state debts, and others propose to offer the creditors three per cent. which I presume they would reject with indignation.

P. S. Were your witnesses militia, who opposed the regular allied troops in the —— case? In case of an appeal, your troops may perhaps be taught the evolutions. I hope Judge N. is well, and the other judges; as the returning prosperity of their court may be supposed to keep them alive many years.

From the same.

NEW YORK, March 3, 1790.

WE have not decided upon the assumption of the state debts. —— hangs heavy on us. If he is a friend, he is more troublesome than a declared foe. He is so much a Virginian; so afraid that the mob will cry out, *crucify him*; sees Patrick Henry's shade at his bedside every night; fears so much the eastern confederacy, and perhaps thinks it unpleasant to come in as an auxiliary to support another's plan; that he has kept himself wrapt up in mystery, and starts new objections daily. I hope a favourable event. But the work goes on heavily and slowly.

From the same.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 30, 1790.

WE have no want of business. The House at the first engrossed almost all the important objects of discussion, leaving the Senate a holiday season. But we have since sent up the bank, weights and measures, and other matters, to set them at work. Like good neighbours, we borrow and lend. The last session was managed as this began. The Senate were ousted of the greater part of the business. The bank is an important instrument in the hands of the government, and may be made to do a great deal of good. It will pass, it is said, in the Senate, though I do not know who has the means of knowing that it will. It has to encounter some prejudices and local institutions. The state banks apprehend injury. This

did not happen it is said in England, when the national bank was established. Besides, room is to be left for incorporating those banks into the new one hereafter.— While I allude to things of this nature, I recollect a piece in Adams's papers recommending a canal through Cape Cod. I am an enthusiast on those points. While I see this place becoming a London in wealth, and more than a London already in arrogance, I long to see some plan of inland navigation effected, which alone seems adequate to the resuscitation of Boston. The public must be prepared gradually for such undertakings. The newspapers may be made use of to kindle some zeal for this purpose. Here every body is as forward to promote public objects as a Roman, and perhaps because, like a Roman, he thinks all the rest of the world barbarians. I own this is rather illiberal. You will make allowances. But they are in advance of us in public spirit and enterprise. It will however be allowed that our individuals are full of spirit and enterprise, and perhaps do as well at present as they do any where. But our public institutions are inferior. Our friend Mr. Breck is no doubt exulting in the reputation of his duck. Mr. Anthony here tells me its credit is very high, and that he cannot get so much of it as he wants. He cannot get a suit of sails for a New London ship in particular.

We have voted the principles of an excise bill, without much difficulty, and a bill like that which failed the last session is reported, and the order of the day for next Tuesday. This will complete the provision for the public credit, which is very high. It denotes health in the body politic.

From the same.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 24, 1791.

MR. SODERSTROM has just handed me the enclosed, desiring me to forward it to you. I take the occasion to express the pleasure I receive by hearing directly from your town, and particularly that you are standing on two

good legs, and with very little reliance on their wooden coadjutors. I am gratified by Mr S's accounts, which are confirmed by other testimony, of the flourishing and satisfied state of Boston. The multitude of new houses erecting in this city and New York, and other marks of increasing wealth and populousness, are a constant provocative to the *amor patriæ* of a Bostonian. But the papers tell us of many fine things that are going forward with you—the town is to be lighted, the market decorated and reformed, and a *theatre*. It is observable that our young men are vigilant to keep our manners incorrupt as well as the old. Whether the stage is a friend or foe to taste and morals is possibly not capable of very full proof; nor does it seem to me necessary to decide the point with more than we have. For as people *earn* their own money, it seems reasonable that they should spend it. In earning, a man may choose freely between rest and action, and their effects, want and abundance. Why government should wait till the money is obtained, and then controul the disposal of it, rather than begin at the first stage, and compel men to earn it, I confess I do not see. The latter would be the more effectual measure, as idleness is less friendly to economy and virtue than luxury, and possibly would be as consistent with the right of a man to his own. Men who have many wants will have many talents. A new stimulus is furnished to the mind to supply by skill, what is necessary to the enjoyment of life. It may therefore be questioned whether a new expense tends to make a people poorer. For it may diminish one or several before indulged in, as it may stimulate men to greater action, and thereby supply its own demand. The General Court will not, I fancy, think well of an indulgence which will cost so much. I confess I have my doubts whether a theatre could be supported long in Boston. Few strangers resort there in winter, and the citizens would soon become sated with theatrical exhibitions. But I shall soon (if I have not already done it) convince you that I am little acquainted with the arguments which were used in town meeting. I write under the influence of a single opinion, that people should

be allowed to do as they like in any case not palpably hurtful.

The bank of the U. S. is beginning to print its bills, and will be employed in business in a few days. You have seen the plan of branches. I do not hear of any strong objections stated against the plan. If successful, it must secure in the event a good dividend. Congress is not engaged in very interesting work. The first acts were the pillars of the federal edifice. Now we have only to keep the sparks from catching the shavings; we must watch the broom, that it is not set behind the door with fire on it, &c. &c. Nobody cares much for us now, except the enemies of the excise law, who remonstrate and make a noise.

OPINION OF COURT ABOUT MALDEN CHURCH—1651.

At a Counsell held at Boston 4th March 1651.

THE Counsell being informed of the Church of Malden's intension to proceed to censure Thomas Line for what evidence he gave into the General Court against Mr. Marmaduke Mathews, did order that the Secretary should write to the Church of Malden, in their name, as follows,

Christian Friends and Brethren,

WE being credibly informed of some purpose of yours to proceed further to censure Thomas Line for the testimony he gave in Court against Mr. Mathews, and that to excommunication; knowing ourselves with what tenderness and caution he gave his aforesaid testimony and what disturbance your proceeding may probably occasion, both in the churches and civil government, we thought it no less than our duty, in a case of this concernment, *yet without any intension or desire in the least to infringe the liberty the Lord Jesus Christ hath pur-*

chased for his churches, do desire you to take the counsell and advice of three or four of your next neighbouring churches in the case aforesaid, before you proceed to further censure ; it being also Thomas Line's earnest request as we are informed ; so that if the case shall appear clear to others, as it may seem to do to you, you may then proceed with more peace and comfort, and be more fully convinced, if then he should continue obstinate—But in case it should appear otherwise to other churches than it doth to you, the rule of God's word may be further attended therein, for the preservation of true love and peace, which we desire you will jointly endeavour to promote with ourselves. So we rest your loving friends.

By order from the Counsell,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

[It seems, that Mr. Mathews had been accused of preaching "divers erroneous, unsound and unsafe opinions," and summoned to attend the General Court to answer to the charge. In this hearing, Mr. Thomas Line gave testimony unfavourable to Mr. Mathews: But the people of Malden, being satisfied with, or wishing to justify Mr. Mathews, for his opinions, proceeded to censure Mr. Line for his testimony.—The letter serves to show the degree of authority claimed and exercised by the civil government, in such cases, at that period.

EDIT.]

AN ADDITION TO THE ACT ENTITULED AN ACT FOR THE SETTING FORTH OF GENERAL PRIVILEGES.

BE it enacted, &c. That the House of Representatives of the people of this province, being a part of the Great and General Court or Assembly, have by their Majesties most gracious charter undoubted right to all the liberties and priviledges of an English Assembly, and to have and use freedom of debate and suffrage in all matters proper to them as such, as the Commons of the Kingdom of England have and use—and the choice and appointment

of all civil offices not particularly directed to ends enumerated in their charter, doth of right belong to the Great and General Court or Assembly—and that soe often as any money is to be raised and levied of the people of this province, the House of Representatives ought particularly to be advised what use and improvement such money is to be raised for.

And further be it enacted, that the appointment and establishment of all sallaries of any officers within this province, be and hereby is declared to belong to the said General Court or Assembly—and that noe publicke monies be or ought to be disposed of by the Governor and Counsell but for the uses and intents of and according to the acts by which the said money is raised—and that no money may or ought to be drawn or paid out of the publicke treasury of this province, but by warrant or order of the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Counsell for the time being, expressing particularly the act by which the said money was raised, and for what particular service the same is designed, and to be applied pursuant to said act or acts, other than contingent charges for the support of the government of the province for the time being.

June 2d, 1694. Read three times in the House of Representatives, and passed in the affirmative ; and sent up to his Excellency the Governor and Counsell for their concurrence and consent.

NEHEMIAH JEWET, *Speaker.*

Read in Counsell and voted to be engrost,
ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

[Copy of a law defining the powers of the House of Representatives, June, 1694, by which it will be very evident, that almost precisely the same sentiments prevailed in that early period of our history, which are now considered correct and republican. EDIT.]

ERROURS CORRECTED.

BOSTON, 8th Sept. 1818.

James Savage, Esq.

Dear Sir,

IN papers communicated by me to the Historical Society there are several mistakes, which it is my duty to correct. By inserting therefore the following list of Errata in the next volume of the Collections, you will oblige

Your friend,

JAMES FREEMAN.



Vol. X. 1st Series, page 258, 2d column, after line 22, insert *Guilford court-house, battle of.* ii. 206.

—— p. 266, 1st column, l. 37, for *Johnson*,——
minister of woburn, read *Johnson, captain ed-ward of woburn.*

Vol. III. 2d Series, p. 41, l. 20, dele *and has a natural communication with the sea.*

—— p. 47, l. 1, dele *on land about a hundred and twenty feet in height.*

—— p. 48, l. 29, dele *and the land, where the above mentioned small pond is placed, is supposed to be a hundred and twenty feet in height.*

—— p. 69, l. 25, dele *Joseph was graduated at Harvard-College in 1730, and was chosen tutor in 1739. He was a man of superiour abilities and learning.*

And after *Another member of this illustrious family was*, l. 7 from bottom, insert *a nephew of Experience, Joseph Mayhew, Esquire, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1730, and was chosen tutor in 1739. He was a man of superiour abilities and learning.—Another distinguished member was the late Dr. Matthew Mayhew.*

Vol. III. p. 91, l. 10, for *five hundred*, read *three hundred*.

—— p. 94, l. 10, from bot. for *and both of them Indians*, read *the first of the mixed race, the second an Indian*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DONATIONS.

THE thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are presented for the following donations.

A. HOLMES, *Corresponding Secretary*.

Les chefs d'œuvre de P. Corneille, 5 vols. 8vo.; Le Manuel des Propriétaires, 8vo.; Essai sur l'Instruction des Aveugles [with plates,] 8vo.; Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes, 4 vols. 4to. [These books are very elegantly bound, and each has the impression of the arms of the king of France.]

*Presented by his most Christian Majesty
Louis XVIII.*

Warden, D. B. Esq. [late American consul at Paris] on Consuls. *The Author.*

Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 1. New Series. *The Society.*

A Star in the West; or A humble Attempt to discover the long lost ten Tribes of Israel. By Elias Boudinot, LL. D. 1816. *The Author.*

A MS. copy of Charles Morton's Essay concerning Preaching; a MS. copy of C. Morton's Physicks; and a MS. book of Rev. Amos Cheever.

Isaac Mansfield, Esq.

XIth. Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society; two Addresses on the deplorable State of the Indians, by Walter Bromley, Halifax, N. S. 1815; Massachusetts State Papers, 1765—1775; Summons to Sir Edmund Andros at Fort Hill. *Alden Bradford, Esq.*

Paley's Sermon, recommending Caution in the Use of Scriptural Language; Dr. E. Porter's Sermon at the

Ordination of J. G. Palfrey ; Col. Swan's Address to the Senate and House of Representatives of U. S. on Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce ; Rev. H. Colman's Discourse before the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, 1818 ; Dr. Harris's Discourse before the Rising Star Lodge ; Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation ; Report of Executive Committee of the Bible Society of Massachusetts, 1818 ; Services at laying the Corner Stone of the Massachusetts General Hospital, 1818.

Mr. John Eliot.

The form of an Admittatur at Harvard College in 1689, with College Laws.

Dr. Nathaniel Noyes.

J. Farmer's Historical Memoir of Billerica, Mass. from its first settlement to 1816.

The Author.

Holmes's Discourse at the opening of the New Alms-house in Cambridge, 1818 ; Sermon before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts in Boston, 1819.

The Author.

Report of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, 1818.

The Society.

Trumbull's History of Connecticut. Vol. 2d.

The Author.

Rules of the Philadelphia Dispensary, and Annual Report for 1813.

Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.

Rev. John Cushing's Half Century Sermon. Ashburnham, 1818.

The Author.

Deed of Land, given by Daniel Takawombait, (Indian) Minister of Natick, to Thomas Sawin, 1692, and several other Indian deeds and papers.

Mr. William Biglow.

Acts passed at the first Session of the first General Assembly of the Alabama Territory, 1818.

George Burroughs, Esq.

History of the famous Edict of Nantz, containing an Account of all the Persecutions that have been in France from its first Publication to this present time. Vol. 1. 1694.

Dr. Webster.

MS. Copy of Eliot's Indian Grammar.

The American Philosophical Society.

Dr. Cummings' Half Century Discourse, 1813.

Jeremiah Farmer, Esq.

Dr. Saunders' Sermon at Medfield, at the 166th Anniversary of the Incorporation of that Town. *The Author.*

Rev. J. M. Winchell's two Discourses, exhibiting an Historical Sketch of the First Baptist Church in Boston from 1665 to 1818. *The Author.*

First Annual Report of the British Charitable Society, 1817. *The Society.*

Rev. L. Wright's Century Sermon at Medway, 1813.

Mr. Jasper Adams.

Dr. Foster's Sermon before the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America. *The Author.*

Catalogue of those who have been educated at the Theological Seminary in Andover. 1818.

Mr. John Adams.

Vindication of the Captors of Major Andre.

General Humphreys.

Memoire sur la Topographie de Livourne et ses Bains de Mer. Par M. P. Guigou.

Rev. Thomas Hall, of Leghorn.

Professor Dewar's Observations on the Theory of Language. *The Author.*

MS. of Rev. H. Gibbs of Watertown.

Hon. Leverett Saltonstall.

A Map of Watertown in Massachusetts, 1646.

Rev. Samuel Ripley.

Beede's Sermon, the Allegory of the Olive Tree, or the Abrahamic Covenant not disannulled; do. Election Sermon at Concord (N. H.) 1811; Sixth Report of the New Hampshire Bible Society, 1817; Medical and Agricultural Register for 1806 and 1807; New Hampshire Register for 1808, 1809, 1816; MS. Memoir of the Narraganset Townships; and sundry ancient letters and papers; H. Moore's Fast Discourse, 1812; J. Appleton's Sermon at the Ordination of E. P. Bradford; E. Thayer's Discourse at the Interment of Hon. Josiah Bartlett, Esq. with an Eulogy; E. Richmond's Sermon at the Ordination of Lemuel Wadsworth, and E. Hill's Sermon

at the Interment of Rev. L. Wadsworth; Anciennes Archives Françaises, &c. or, Extracts from the Minutes of Council relating to the Records of Canada while under the Government of France; Journal of Massachusetts Commissioners at a Treaty with the Penobscotts, Norridgewocks, and other tribes of Eastern Indians, 1749.

Mr. John Farmer.

Rev. N. L. Frothingham's Sermon on the death of Rev. Joseph McKean, D. D. LL. D.; Form of the Leases of Episcopal Church Lands. *Unknown.*

Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of public Events (containing the most important Papers relating to the American Revolution), printed for J. Almon. London. 1775—1784. 17 vols. 8vo.

General J. P. Boyd.

The New York Spectator. *Messrs. Lewis & Hall.*

The Columbian Centinel. *Benjamin Russell, Esq.*

The Weekly Messenger. *Nathan Hale, Esq.*

The New England Galaxy. *Mr. J. T. Buckingham.*

The Boston Gazette. *Messrs. Russell & Gardner.*

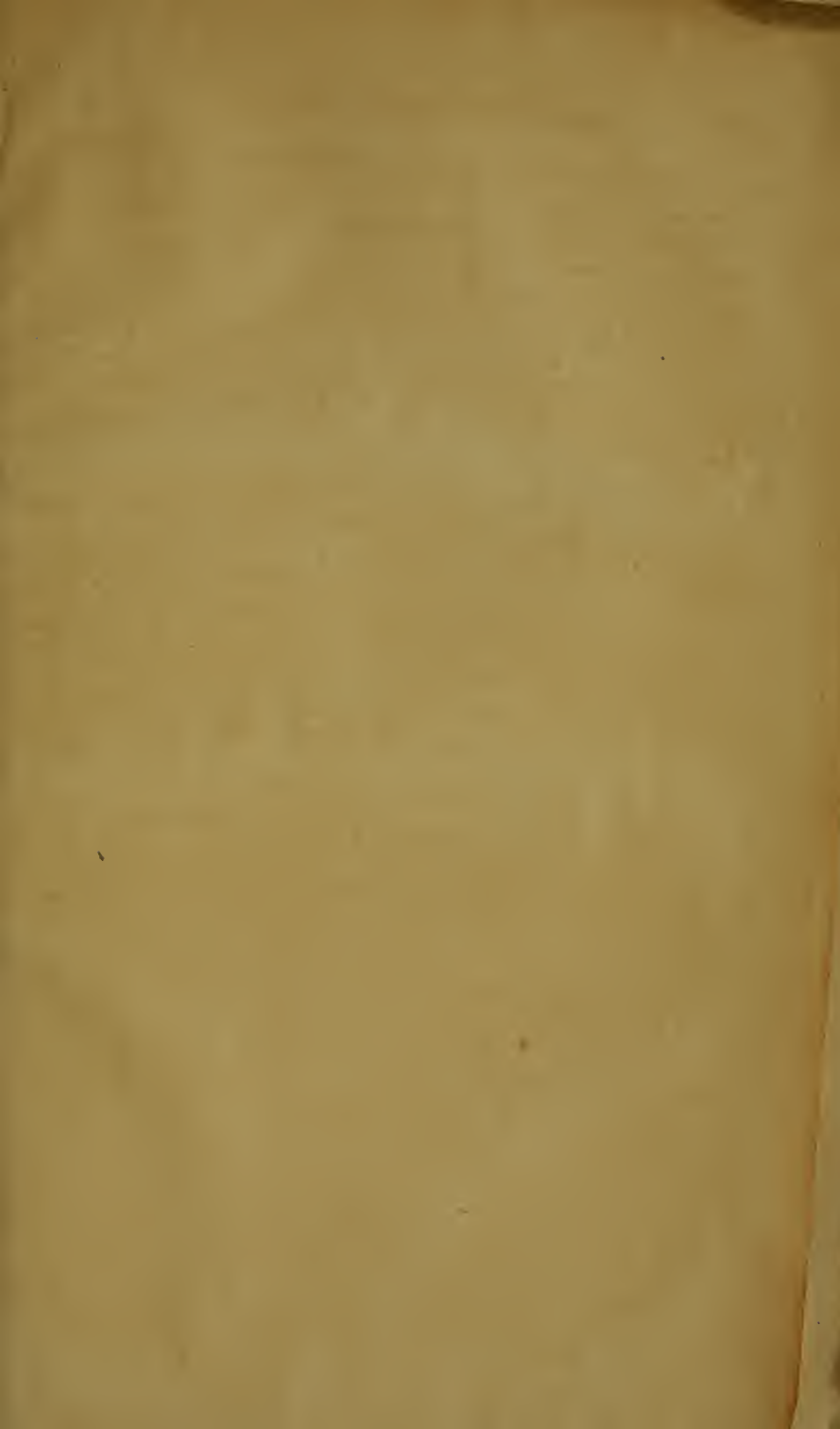
FOR THE CABINET.

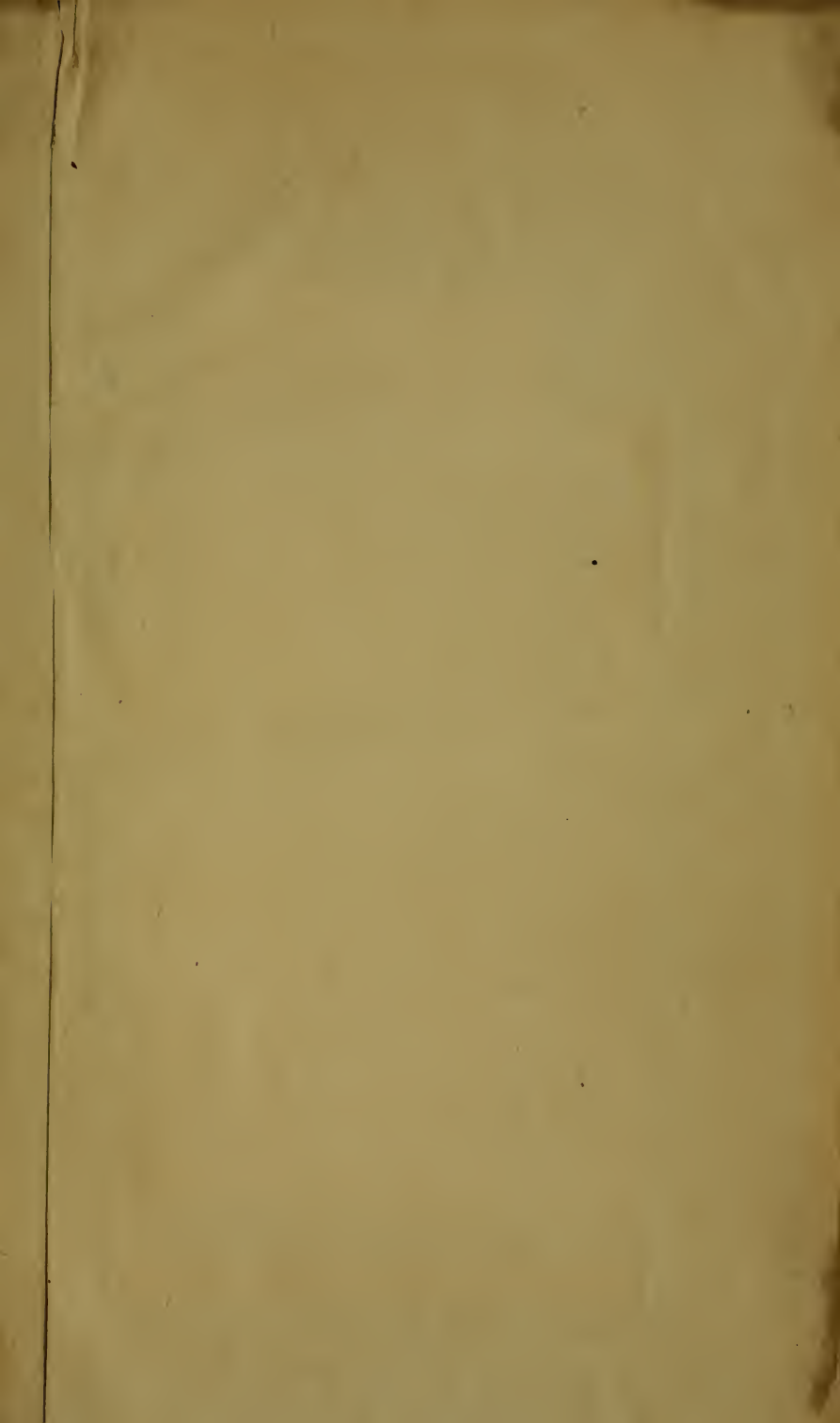
An elegant medallion of Princess Charlotte. The Inscription: CAROLETTA AVGVSTA. On the reverse: SPES PVBLICA—IAN. VII. MDCCCXIV.

Jonathan F. Dana, M. D.



END OF VOL. VIII. SECOND SERIES.





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ALTERED BY THE BORROWER.

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